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Vanished comforts
locating roles of domestic furnishings in Scotland 1500-1650

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Abbreviations used

BM	British Museum.
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
CSP	*Calendar of State Papers.*
DOST	*Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*.
ECA	Edinburgh City Archives.
HES	Historic Environment Scotland.
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NMS	National Museums of Scotland.
NRAS	National Register of Archives for Scotland.
NRS	National Records of Scotland.
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*.
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on Ancient Historical Monuments Scotland (now HES).
SNPG	Scottish National Portrait Gallery.
TNA	The National Archives.
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*.
TA	*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurers of Scotland.*
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

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Declaration

I Michael Pearceam the author of the thesis; unless otherwise stated, I have consulted all references cited; I have done the work of which the thesis is a record, and it has not been previously accepted for a higher degree.

Abstract

Household inventories recordobjects that can be compared with surviving artefacts contributing to the study of material culture and social history. However, this thesis shows how heterogeneous inventories found in early modern Scottish sources resist quantification and aggregation. Instead, qualitative use of inventory evidence is advocated. Inventories can contribute information on the locations of activities in the home. These activities may be preferred to the object as evidence of historical change and as units of international comparison. Furnishing a house was cultural activity, and a construction of culture. In this study,objects are regarded as participants in cultural activities, strategies, and the construction of values.

Sixteenth-century inventories are often impersonal and tend to show similarities in content, encouraging mechanistic interpretations of domestic life. The seventeenth century saw a proliferation of household equipment and furnishing for elites throughout Europe due to changes in production and consumerism. Some of this new furnishing was bought in London, some in France. While national difference was apparently maintained in architecture, new furnishings may have effaced distinctions within elite rooms. Scottish and English culture was merged by aristocratic intermarriage.

This new culture is seen in the inventories of Mary, dowager Countess of Home. She maintained houses in England and Scotland.Some of her furnishings represented the style of an inner circle at court. Her inventories are also significant because they detailed equipment for a range of activities. She personally prepared medicines and sweetmeats, and had a number of scientific instruments. Pursuits reconstructed from the detail of later inventories can illuminate other domestic situations where clues are more subtle or absent. The level of autonomy Lady Home and her daughters exercised over their homes is a reminder of the agency exercised by women over furnishings, gardens, architecture, and estate policy.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 This thesis

Houses of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scottish aristocrats had public roles in shaping, disseminating and reproducing social values and belief. Occupants and visitors were reminded of their statusby verbal, visual and architectural cues in relation both to hierarchy with the monarch at the apex and to regional networks.Perceived differences in architectural planning and manners between countries may mask essential similarities in strategy: national differences are revealed in nuances of expectation, familiarity and formality, which exist in balance with the architectural framework. Inside the home furnishings reinforced such messages and directed actions. An understanding of the furnishing of elite homes and its purposes ought to illuminate an historian's understanding of society. This understanding is crucial to the presentation and interpretation of heritage buildings. Approaches to objects that focus on their symbolic communication and role in identity formation have become usual, even hegemonic.[1]

Beyond their apparent function and utility, the role of objects furnishing these houses was more than mirroring society. Objects are not merelyparticipants in, or symbols representing a perception of social order, but construct that order by exercising agency, mediating with and transforming their surroundings, and by interacting with other objects and people. Objects acquire agency from their makers, their owners, function, position, and develop by their relation with other objects and people. In recognising this agency, a stronger relationship between people and material culturebecomes apparent. More than a passive symbol of a social relationship the object or assembly constructed the relationship, in cooperation with other furnishings and human agents.

Alfred Gell described art objects as 'devices for securing the acquiescence of individuals in the network of intentionalities in which they enmeshed'. Artefacts and people for Gell could

[1] F. Trentmann, 'Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics' *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 48, no. 2 (April 2009), pp. 283-307, 288.

alternately be agents and *patients*, the objects of agency.[2]The thesis takes as its starting point that objects andthe assembly of objects in elite interiors was (and is) just such an interactive art object. These rooms operated on their intended recipients to inspire recognition or awe or other appropriate responses to their agency. However, interiors, artefacts, or inventories rarely tell us anything directly about apast 'network of intentionalities' and responses and intentions must be re-imagined from other sources. Embracing the concept of agency leads to new challenges and opportunities in describing the roles of artefacts, since all objects and artefacts participated in the 'network of enmeshment' and make traditional accounts which pick out and describe prestigious objects and their symbolic values in isolation inadequate.

Hints and cues from objects and architecture that pattern behaviour are easily recognised in formal and public spaces: in open-plan offices, theatres, restaurants and places of worship. Equally, in homes guests can recognise familiar spaces and adapt their behaviour and expectations, or risk causing offence and receiving censure. Given that material culture has this role in constructing society, the evidence of ensembles of objects as they appear in inventories comprises an important historical source. It should be possible to understand something of a society's and individuals' values from the environmentsthey created. In this thesis, evidence about objects from inventories is combined with other archival or literary sources, contemporary images and physical evidence from buildings and surviving artefacts.

Inventories themselves are not transparent lists to be decoded, but were themselves artefacts and texts produced to aid replication of the social order by inheritance.[3]Scottish inventories were patterned by a legal concept of heirship goods, which though rarely codified, defined the key possessions appropriate toa baron, a tenant-in-chief of the crown, which an heir should inherit.[4]Other contemporary texts describing furnishings are rare and usually appreciative in tone rather than critical. Images, prints and paintings of interiors (mostly

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[2] A. Gell, 'The technology of enchantment and the enchantment of technology', in J. Coote and A. Shelton, eds, *Anthropology and Aesthetics* (Oxford, 1992), 43: A. Gell, *Art & Agency, An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford, 1998), 18, 21-2, 222: C. Van Eck, 'Living Statues: Alfred Gell's *Art and Agency*, Living Presence Response and the Sublime', *Art History*, 33. 4 (September 2010), pp. 642-659: B. Olsen, *In Defense of Things, Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects* (Plymouth, 2010), 135-6.

[3]R. Grassby, 'Material Culture and Cultural History' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35.4 (2005), 591-603.

[4] The concept dictates inclusions and exclusions in wills. A potential heir intending to repudiate an inheritance was not allowed to take possession of an heirship good.

made in other countries) were rarely intended as records, but usually functioned as moral allegories patterned by iconological tradition. They include cues reflecting their themes to constructingidealised moral environments inviting approval or disapproval. Artists were likely to include items and types of furnishing to reinforce moral response. Plausible contemporary objectsincludedmay be exaggerated for moral emphasis. While such images are not reliable guides to the appearance of rooms, they are evidence that furnishings could convey moral meaning. Real furnishings and rooms would do the same, promoting feelings of inclusion,security and stability, and demonstrating wealth and taste. Reaction to fashion is difficult to detect in earlier written sources, and more apparent in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The response often took the form of a 'luxury critique' centred on vanity and pride and particularly addressed at women.

Sixteenth-century Scottish inventories provide evidence of the hall as the main reception and ceremonial space in elite and urban houses. A group of artefacts was regularly described which can be interpreted as agents in constructing this space to celebrate hierarchy and project positive images to build local networks and alliances. So far from self-reproducing in the seventeenth-century, this arrangement was abandoned. Aristocrats no longer needed to seek the favour of local lairds.This thesis concludes that aristocratic furnishing practicesduring this period of change followed fashions set by the court in London. This court style could be seen in houses in Edinburgh and elsewhere and would be emulated by those who had not travelled south. Those who adopted this'British' style may have preferred furniture imported from London and rejected the products of Edinburgh or local wrights. A second theme of the thesis is examination of activities in these new rooms and spaces, which were absent or undocumented in the previous century. While some of the objects listed in earlier inventories can be linked to activities of leisure or domestic production, seventeenth-century evidence is richer. While the proliferation of material goods and new domestic leisure spaces has often been described, inventories can still provide new insights into the locations and status of domestic activities.

New archival research for this thesis produced evidence of the import of English court style to Scotland in the seventeenth century. Inventories compiled by Mary Dudley (Sutton), dowager Countess of Home (1585-1644) describe a different domestic environment to that

evoked in their predecessors.[5] She furnished her houses with paintings, Italianate chairs, marble tables and couches – items identified by furniture historians as key elements of Jacobean and Caroline court style.[6] Lady Home's houses, it is argued, promoted court style in Scotland by example. This thesis addresses the role of these furnishing as a promotion of London culture, of new styles fraught with 'Britishness'. These new furnishings were assimilated in Scotland and absorbed into a resistant architectural framework, an architectural framework described by Aonghus MacKechnie as a 'robust national architecture' and by John Dunbar as 'obstinately Scottish'.[7] This was not entirely an accident of fashion and convenience. Lady Home's marriage itself was conceived as part of the broader Anglo-Scottish union project – celebrated in verse by David Hume of Godscroft as an example for the benefit of the kingdom.[8]

Rapid change in the first decades of the seventeenth century is contrasted with continuity throughout the sixteenth century; although the sources are problematic – earlier inventories were structured according to prescriptive formulae. They do not record the evolution of type, and names were subject to semantic drift. The nature of these sources is discussed below. It is argued that the general nature of furnishings, room use, and vocabulary, were relatively stable in the sixteenth century. This stability was due to the continuing importance of the ritual function of the hall, which was the centre of the household. Inventories before 1600 give hall furnishings a consistent character. The idea of the medieval hall as a performative space was enduring and pervasive and its display was emulated by wealthier burgesses. Its legacy has

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[5] Moray papers, NRAS 217 box 5, inventories of Moray House, Donibristle, Castle Stuart, Floors Castle and Twickenham Park. 'Dudley' was the family title, 'Sutton' the surname, but Mary, her mother, and siblings used 'Dudley' as a surname. Lady Ann Clifford called her Mrs Mary Dudley.

[6] S. Jervis, 'Furniture for the first Duke of Buckingham' *Furniture History*, 33 (1997), 48-74: C. Rowell, 'A set of early seventeenth-century crimson velvet seat furniture at Knole: new light on the Knole sofa', *Furniture History*, vol. 42 (2006), 27-52: P. Thornton & M. Tomlin, 'Franz Cleyn at Ham House', *National Trust Studies 1980* (London, 1979), 27-29.

[7] J. Dunbar, *The Architecture of Scotland*, (London 1978), 65: A. MacKechnie, 'Scots court architecture of the early 17th century : the absentee-court architecture of Sir James Murray of Kilbaberton, William Wallace and their circle, in the early 17th century', unpublished Edinburgh PhD thesis, 1994, 24-5, 44, 192, 318.

[8] David Hume of Godscroft in *The Muses Welcome* (Edinburgh, 1618), 14: David Hume of Godscroft, *Regi Suo, Post Bis Septennium in Patriam Ex Anglia Redeunti, Scotiæ Gratulatio* (Edinburgh, 1617).

been traced in modern homes.[9] Its contents might include a hunting horn, a halberd, and a chandelier made of antlers. These items evoked lordshipand class solidarity as did the arrangement of tables and the architectural form. Although these roles were similar to those in other countries, the objects preferred may have been distinctive. The furnishingsof halls are described in Chapter Three. Seventeenth-century halls no longer contained such objects, and the space was often converted into a dining room for the family or for household servants. At the same time drawing or withdrawing chambers are recorded for the first time; these were new reception rooms, which did not contain beds.

The second theme of this thesis is the reconstruction of activities in these new rooms and in bedchamber cabinets and closets. Many of these activities were not novel, but are hard to trace in earlier inventories. Attention is given to the location of equipment for games and musical instruments, particularly the virginals. Lady Home's cabinet contained equipment for sweetmeat making and distillation, paintings, books, and scientific instruments. Preparation and consumption of sweetmeats and medicine took place in closet and bedchamber spaces revealing an activity in which recreation and making were conjoined. Her paintings representing the 'exceptional women' Susannah, Lucretia, Judith, and Abigail, some with themes relating to food and healing, allegories of charity, and the senses, participate by reference to this activity.[10]The daily business of feeding the household was left to kitchen servants, while the family experienced a kind of domesticity that constituted these specific forms of domestic production as a leisure activity, 'recreative' in a physical and spiritual sense.

Stills and alembics used to make cordials and physic ought not to be distinguished from scientific instrumentsused in leisure, study and alchemy. Thesepursuits wererecreative of body and spirit. This thesis argues against separatingthe furnishingsof these reception rooms into categories likefine art, scientific instruments, or the equipment foreating or domestic production. Instead, their interrelationships constructed an identity centred on the pursuit of wellbeing. Recipes for remedies and sweetmeats and their circulation have been the subject

[9] D. Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford, 1987), 197-8: F. Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life* (London 1981), 306-11: P. Burke, *Popular Culture* (London 1978): M. Thompson, *The MedievalHall* (Aldershot 1995).

[10] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 469, 'pictures in my ladyes closet'.

of recent research.[11] Kitchen practice has been distinguished from closet-learnt knowledge, but Lady Home worked in the bedchamber suite spaces of closets and cabinets rather than in stillroom or kitchen, and it is argued that physical separation from the routine domestic economy was integral to the activity. Appropriation of domestic production as closet recreation and leisure distanced it from kitchen production. Rather than objectified as work or even as charity, producing and dispensing cordials and remedies for a peer group was a social activity. While this activity was not novel, the display in reception rooms of objects and paintings relating to production and consumption was.

Lady Home took her glassware for distilling to her country house at Floors Castle. The furnishings at Floors were smart enough for re-use in Edinburgh, London, and at Twickenham Park, but she did not take'new' furnishings there, the ornamentsand paintings that completed hertownhouses. There was a disjunction in furnishing practice between town and country. William Habington provided a consonant version of the 'luxury critique' in the 1630s. Wives might have a different humour in town or country, while his ideal would avoid such extremes; 'Shee so squares her passion to her husband's fortunes that in the country she lives without a froward melancholy, in the towne without a fantastique pride'.[12] The country was a place of retreat which could foster melancholy: town life might encourage display that would hurt a husband's pocket.

The concern of this thesis with both the role of the object in the widest sense of its agency, and its material form and type differs from the methodology adopted by John Warrack in 1920. He identified typological changes in Scottish furnishings between 1488 and 1688 but rarely pursued the significance or role of any object. Warrack saw changes as evidence of the material progress of society driven by fashion. His choice of periodization linked developments to major social and political changes, though he rarely proposed causative connectionsapart from increased prosperity. He notes a 'great upheaval in domestic life' around 1600 when new furniture types met needs previously unknown, contrasted with

[11] E. Leong, E., & S. Pennell, 'Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern 'Medical Marketplace' in M. S. Jenner ed., *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1450- c. 1850* (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 133-152: E. Leong, 'Collecting knowledge for the family: recipes, gender and practical knowledge in the early modern English household' *Centaurus, 55*(2), (2013), pp. 81-103: M. DiMeo & S. Pennell, ed., *Reading and writing recipe books, 1550-1800* (Manchester, 2013).

[12] W. Habington, *Castara* (London 1634), part 2, 'A Wife'.

furnishing on the 'basis of a medieval conception of social life' which he attributed to the decline of feudalism.[13] This impression of the sources is sound but the explanation offered does not explore and contrast the social roles of medieval halls and dining and drawing chambers.Warrack did not find, as this thesis does, that London furnishings brought to Scotland in the first decades of the seventeenth century particularly included items of current court fashion, rather than simply English types.

More recently, Margaret Sanderson provided a chapter on furnishing in *A Kindly Place?* in which she aims to give a picture of ordinary life in sixteenth-century Scotland.[14] Despite this objective, many of her examples of household furnishings are takenfrom aristocratic inventories. Unlike Warrack, Sanderson avoids describing historical development, and attempts a generalised picture of the sixteenth-century home, describing a variety of references and providing a useful glossary and interpretation of terms. Some social differences are explored in terms of quantity and quality. Neither author explores the symbolism or agency of objects.

1:2 Historiography and agency

Self-representation as a healer and widow is apparent in Lady Home's inventories, but such 'self-fashioning' is not usually manifest in inventories. She created the inventories herself producing a very dense record of her houses and possessions, which gives an unusually vivid picture of how she used her things. This thesis aims to contextualise the object's intervention in culture. The study involves research in three interrelated areas: room use and planning, material culture and consumerism, and manners and etiquette. Understanding the roles of objects beyond their basic functions requires the historiography of these three areas to be combined with an understanding of agency derived from sociology and anthropology.

This study contributes to architectural history primarily by adding to understanding of room use and motivation for change. The houses of Scottish aristocrats were built as vertical towers, as stacked lodgings, or horizontal palace formats, and combinations of these forms – these differences do not seem to affect the typology of rooms as they appear in inventories. Room use appears to have been relatively stable in the sixteenth century. Almost invariably

[13] J. Warrack, *Domestic Life in Scotland 1488-1688* (London 1920), 98-105.

[14] M. Sanderson, *A Kindly Place?* (East Linton 2002), 83-98.

the function of reception was concentrated in a hall, usually on the first floor, as was the custom in France, but not in England or Ireland. Beyond the hall many inventories mention a 'chamber of dais', a bedchamber, notionally reserved for a feudal superior, but often also a dining room. In position in sequence this equates to the medieval English solar and its successors, the great chamber and best bedchamber.[15] A gallery might provide a second space for more private or family entertainment and leisure. Other bedchambers connected to the gallery, or linked to stairs, forming clusters of rooms rather than a single processional route. Apart from the offices, in sixteenth-century inventories all rooms apart from the hall and gallery were bedchambers.

An English observer Fynes Moryson, writing in the early seventeenth century, remarked that the servants in Scotland who brought the food then sat down in the hall with the other diners. But he thought the scale of this entertainment had declined since a previous visit when, 'the Scots living then in factions used to keep many followers, and so consumed their revenue of victuals'.[16]In the early seventeenth-century halls were replaced with more comfortably furnished dining-rooms. These lacked high tables and benches were replaced by leather chairs. Often another smaller dining-room was provided, perhaps for family use, the use of women, or use in winter. Only a select few would dine with lords, where previously larger numbers of guests and servants dined together in the hall.[17]Drawing chambers are first mentioned, cabinets and closets are described in detail, forming bedchamber suites unknown in sixteenth-century records. These architectural changes can be discussed in the context of increasing levels of privacy, although apparently more private spaces were used by groups of occupants.[18] The use of the hall and the development of successor spaces are examined in

[15] M. Gendinning & A. MacKechnie, *Scottish Architecture* (London 2004), 70-1: R. Sherlock, 'Evolution of the Irish Tower House', *Domestic Life in Ireland*, PRISA Section C vol. 3 (2011), 115-140: C. McKean, *Scottish Chateau* (Stroud, 2001); 'Some Later Jacobean Villas in Scotland' in M. Airs, & G. Tyack, eds. *The Renaissance Villa* (2007); 'The Scottish Renaissance Country Seat in its Setting', *Garden History*, 31 no.2 (2004) ,141-162: 'Galleries, Girnals & the Woman House,' *Review of Scottish Culture*, no. XIV (2004): M. Davis, 'The John Bell architecture of Renaissance Scotland', Dundee PhD thesis (2009).

[16] P. Hume Brown, *Early Travels in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1891), 88-9.

[17] Thompson, *The Medieval Hall*: F. Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford 1990), 166.

[18] L. C. Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford 2007), 311; 'Gertrude's Closet' *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* 134 (1998): 44-67: A. Stewart, 'The Early Modern Closet Discovered' *Representations*, No. 50 (Spring, 1995), pp. 76-100: M. Wigley, 'Untitled: the housing of gender' in B. Colomina ed., *Sexuality and*

Chapter Three of this thesis, and in Chapter Four which examines bedchamber furnishing. Activities in reception rooms and cabinets are discussed in the final three Chapters, with much inventory evidence pointing to shared and social activity in private spaces rather than to solitary study and business.

The variety and quantity of objects recorded in inventories increase in the seventeenth century, reflecting a shift in material culture and consumption. It has been argued that the 'modern consumer' had origins in the Renaissance; the requirements of elite life now involved the proliferation of objects and new types of luxury, including goods manufactured in India and China.[19] The historiography of new consumerism has been summarised by Linda Peck, Sarah Pennell and others.[20]The impact is readily detectable in Scottish inventories, decorative objects like paintings and sculptures which were rarely found outside Scottish royal inventories in the sixteenth century are now recorded in private homes. New textiles from India like calico and 'pintado' appear. But exotic imported luxuries are not the only novelties, there is simply more stuff of all types.

The traditional and problematic distinction between luxury and necessity is perhaps not so relevant to the study of an homogenous class. Current theories of consumption owe much to Thorstein Veblen, who described the 'conspicuous consumption' of a leisured American upper-class, a spending strategy which aimed to distance the leisured class from workers. This habit influenced the choices of the rest of society by its emulation. Practitioners adopted strategies of expenditure which were conspicuously different from the habits of saving and investment of the new bourgeois middle class. Norbert Elias recognised Veblen's description of such spending habits as the regular strategy for French aristocrats of the seventeenth century. Elias contextualised this spending in a system of etiquette, essentiality competitive,

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Space (MIT, 1988), 332: T. Chico, 'Privacy and Speculation in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain'*Cultural Critique*, No. 52, Everyday Life (Autumn 2002), pp. 40-60.

[19]R. A. Goldthwaite ed., *World of Goods*: *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore, 1993).

[20]L. L. Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, 2005), 10-14: S. Pennell, 'Consumption and consumerism in early modern England', *Historical Journal*, 42:2, (1999), pp. 549-64: M. O'Malley & E. Welch ed., *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester, 2007), 1-8.

wherein expenditure could be compared to the medieval practice of 'magnificence'.[21]Pierre Bourdieu described a modern consumerism which embraced other aims, or at least practitioners believe so, where objects and choices perpetuate social distinction, in any direction, and are used for self-identification and solidarity within a class.[22]

Jan de Vries criticises models of society which seem to depend on the emulation and downward diffusion of upper class behaviours. He makes an interesting distinction between old and new luxuries in the Dutch Republic. New luxuries were ephemeral compared with older prestigious objects. The value of old luxuries depended on the intrinsic value of their materials, assuming that the raw materials were robust and enduring these might depreciate more slowly and persist in second-hand markets, with long life cycles. New luxuries, depending on their design – or 'fashion' in the parlance of patrons and merchants of the day – were not so enduring. The raw materials were usually less valuable, products were available in varying qualities, and the new value of 'fashion' rapidly depreciated. In the Dutch republic new luxuries appealed to a new middle class.[23]The same goods would appeal in Britain though practices of consumerism differed.

The concept of old and new luxury does not quite fit the luxury consumption of seventeenth-century British aristocracy, as Linda Peck has noted, since there is no easy identification of old and new consumers with differing strategies.[24] De Vries' formula is based on descriptions of the conditions of the Dutch Republic, an attempt to match moral and political outlook with a history of consumerism. Of new luxuries, Lady Home had a preference for 'pintado', a relatively inexpensive but novel printed or painted Indian cotton. Fashion as a term was used in contemporary discourse in opposition to intrinsic material value. As an 'old luxury' the

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[21] T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1899): N. Elias, , trans. E. Jephcott, *Court Society* (Oxford, 1983), 38, 41-65, 63-5, 67-8.

[22] W. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability* (London, 2002), 25: P. Bourdieu, *Distinction* (Cambridge MA, 1984), 466-84.

[23] J. De Vries, 'Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in Theory and Practice' in M. Berg & E. Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, 2002), 41-56: J. De Vries, Industrious Revolution, (Cambridge, 2008), 52-60: Bert De Munck, 'Guilds, Product Quality and Intrinsic Value. Towards a History of Conventions?*Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, vol. 36, no. 4 (138), Conventions and Institutions from a Historical Perspective / Konventionen und Institutionen in historischer Perspektive (2011), pp. 103-124, 112.

[24] Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 13.

'fashion' of new silver, its design and making, was a secondary consideration to its weight - as the merchant John Clerk explained to the Marquess of Lothian, the fashion of silver would be of no value in twenty years, 'but silver is ay silver'. Lady Home had silver made in the fashion of the Duchess of Richmond, Henrietta Maria, and Maria de' Medici. In 1638 she had a pot made in the Duchess' fashion converted to a silver candle sconce in the Queen Mothers's.[25]These items reveal the effort to pursue the fashionable.

Little is known of the fate of the discarded object. The nature of the second-hand market in Scotland is difficult to assess in this period, with few sources. Wills give values but details of subsequent sale and re-purchase are not traceable. The age and trajectory of surviving pieces can rarely be uncovered. Lady Home disposed of old, unfashionable, and salvaged oak furniture to wrights and furniture makers.[26] Shebought and sold textile furnishings with family associations, prizing a bed, tablecloth and hangings that she had bought from Harington House in Bishopsgate.[27]These textiles were shared and exchanged exclusively amongst family thoughby purchase rather than gift.

Changes in consumption and production in English households were examined by Mark Overton and his co-authors. They collated evidence from 8000 probate inventories in two counties. This approach cannot be applied to Scottish wills which do not include comparable inventories. Overton's databases examine a transition from domestic production for home consumption to production for sale and the generation of cash incomes, a cash income which could be used to purchase new and diverse kinds of goods.[28] This kind of question is less pressing for the study of the elite household where furnishings were already for the most part purchased, imported, or constructed by hired professionals. Nevertheless, it is clear that aristocratic women took proprietorial pride in cloth made from the wool of their farms.

Furnishing, particularly hall furnishings, were adjuncts of ceremony. Both the decline in commensality in the hall and the proliferation of accessories of upper class life are

[25] NRS GD40/2/187/1: NRAS 217 box 5 no.5, fol.41r, 'One of these potes of my la: richmonds fashion is changed for the silver brouke & the lion hande candellstickes'.

[26] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 13, fols.37, 38.

[27] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 9, Floors, fol. 5.

[28] M. Overton, J. Whittle, D. Dean, A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households 1600-1750* (Abingdon, 2004), 6-7.

inextricably associated with changes in manners. It is important to recognise that furnishings of drawing chambers performed similar roles to manage behaviour and promote social values, which roles their comparative familiarity as artefacts or ancestors of modern objects may conceal. Late medieval furniture maintained its owner's status, but apparently in an impersonal manner: Penelope Eames found it 'impossible to detect quirks of taste or personality'in fifteenth-century inventories and this seems true of Scottish sixteenth-century inventories.[29]She linked this uniformity with an international medieval idea of magnificence, which in its later forms may have been influenced by Burgundian splendours. Georges Chastellain (d. 1475),the court historiographer of Charles the Bold, ranked household management as a priority of magnificence, second only tomartial (and male) achievement.[30]This absence of individuality can be attributed to the prevalenceof the rule of etiquette which by its nature was shared and understood and presented and promoted conformityand conventions of manners which both emphasised and concealed social relations.Where individuality is absent in the record questions of male and female agency can hardly be addressed.

Furnishings and etiquette are part of the story that society tells itself about the structure of its relationships. They are part of that structure as a form of imagining and normalising the status-quo as the natural order. Having a hall furnished in the appropriate manner set the owner up in a society in which reciprocal relationships were particularly valued. Jenny Wormald has argued the stability of society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was constructed by a network of private legal bonds that tied participants together, which was a major contributor to central authority. These bonds were still made in the 1590s but became rare in the seventeenth-century due to the absent monarch and new systems of government by an administrative class more likely to intervene in local business, and new jurisdictions exercised by the kirk.[31] The decline of the hall in the country house in Scotland, which must have once been an expression of eligibility to participate in bond culture and recruit followers, should be linked to this abrupt change.

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[29] P. Eames, *Medieval Domestic Furnishing*, MA thesis, Liverpool University (1969), published as, 'Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the twelfth to the fifteenth century,' *Furniture History*, vol. xiii, (1977).

[30] Eames, 'Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands', xx-xxi.

[31] J. Wormald, *Lords and Men an Scotland 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), 160-5.

Condescension, expressed to reinforce social ranking, seems to be at the heart of the hall, where hospitality was offered to guests who are honoured by the presence of the lord. Furnishing and equipment was valued for its role in this etiquette, an etiquette which reveals, disguises, and transforms relations.Detail of etiquette varied between nations: Alienor de Poitiers wrote that the rules of estate in France in 1456 were different to those in Portugal, and some features of Burgundian court models were deliberately adopted in mid sixteenth-century Spain.[32]In 1623 Buckingham's familiarity with Prince Charles, and breach of hat etiquette in Madrid was said to have offended the Spanish aristocracy, accusations of misconduct 'not such as they can be made to appear by legal and judicial proofs'. Buckingham had been seen sitting with his feet up when Charles was standing in presence giving audiences.[33]Charles was supposed in 1625 to have set out to increase the decorum of his court.[34]

Despite these snapshots, ranking courts as invariably more or less formal than one another seems an unhelpful procedure. Our picture is so incomplete, when so many behavioural boundaries well known to participants in each are unknowable to us, and in each nation the rules must have seemed natural (if they had not been recently changed). Some behaviour in Edinburgh may have seemed relaxed while other shibboleths were unobserved. Aristocratic manners and architectural planning were not necessarilyclosely modelled on the court, and this seems especially true in sixteenth-century Scotland where architectural experiment at the royal palaces had so little effect on other building types. More critical to the study of furnishingsis the awareness of how much (and how unevenly) Scottish aristocratic habits were affected by the Union of Crowns in 1603. Aristocratic fashions and manners brought to Scotland after 1603 may have been more in conformity with court practice than was previously the case. Issues are masked by the problems in trying to identify changes in etiquette and furnishing which can be attributed to the union rather than to widespread cultural shifts and developments in consumerism in Europe at the same time.

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[32] Eames, 'Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands', 263, 268: H. Cools, 'The Burgundian-Habsburg Court as a Military Institution' in S. Gunn & A. Janes ed., *The Court as a Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), 156-9.

[33]Anon, *Cabala* (London, 1691), 252-4, letter attributed to the Earl of Bristol.

[34] K. Sharpe, 'The Image of Virtue', in D. Starkey ed., *The English Court* (London, 1987), 242-3

While etiquette may not have been closely modelled on current court practice, it was the major factor in domestic planning. The homes of Scottish nobles were organised with public spaces like the hall and the more private spaces of the bedchamber and cabinet and gallery. Norbert Elias stressed that princes and nobles maintained a constant public persona at all times, and provided an account of the ever-present dominance of etiquette at the seventeenth-century French court. In his deterministic picture of motivation in court politics following etiquette was the aim of all participants,the only route to advancement or merely maintain position at court. Practising this etiquette was fiercely competitive in character and involved conspicuous expenditure.[35] In the *Civilising Process*, Elias turned to describe the historical development of the mind moulded by society. Table manners, attitudes to bodily functions, and inhibitions were reflections of society and determined by its values and political structures. Elias did not insist on a strict linear development of manners, which would be incompatible with his presentation of manners as a correlative of other social structures, but suggested a general progress towards modernity. Anna Bryson challenged this model of a general progress in manners, but recognised a general change from a medieval 'courtesy' to an early modern 'civility', a form of manners which prioritised education.[36]

New dining-rooms and drawing chambers, furnished with paintings and sculpturessuggestive of educated tastes were tokens of this civility, as were painted ceilings with learned tags and emblems. Changes in mannersconstruct new identities to be shared. New identities propagate the values of society and exclude those who choose not to or cannot participate. This is an important aspect of fashion. These themes have been pursued for half a century; as a history of the family, in the 1970s Lawrence Stone drew together evidence of changing manners, architectural planning for increasing domestic privacy, and new forms of consumerism into a grand narrative of the modern family. 'Possessive individualism' a state where social obligations were adopted only by conscious choice, detected in Hobbes, as described by Crawford Macpherson,[37] was countered by the growth of 'affective individualism', a stronger sense of close family, in the eighteenth century.[38] Strong kinship solidarity moved towards

[35] N. Elias, *The Court Society* (Oxford, 1983), 23-24.

[36] N. Elias, *The Civilising Process* (Oxford, 1984): A. Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility* (Oxford, 1998), 10-11, 280: W. D. Smith, *Consumption and the making of respectability* (London, 2002).

[37] C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: From Hobbes to Locke* (1962).

[38] L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York, 1977), chpt. 6 'The Growth of Affective Individualism'.

the nuclear family. For example, the abandonment of attempts to cultivate connections in late medieval halls can be seen as part of the rise of possessive individualism. Stone's account of the rise of affective individualism has been challenged by Alan Macfarlane and others since the 1970s on the grounds that many of the changes described by Stone can be shown to have been gradual and in some cases completed before his period.[39]Inventories do not speak directly of the nature of family life, but they do suggest some ways in which a noble family presented itself, in the comparative splendour of bedchambers, or where unmarried women played musical instruments.

Stone discussed a warring tradition in the seventeenth century between ascetic Puritans and a secular sensual moiety. Bryson found the same conflict of values within individual works of contemporary Puritan conduct literature which appreciate attractive manners and entertainment.[40] The point is significant for this thesis because the Countess of Home's inventories indicate apparently conflicting values; participation in court culture centred on Henrietta Maria, reading of Puritan sermons, her puritan Harington background, the displayof paintings reflecting values of the counter-Reformation. In the following chapters of this thesis, topics from those sermons will be quoted where they seem to illuminate her possessions and activities. Court culture, and its material culture, has traditionally been opposed to 'country' culture in accounts of the English civil war, and attributed a causative effect. Malcolm Smuts pointed out the relatively modest cost of Charles' cultural programme and successes in imposing new taste on governing classes, suggesting that resentment against material culture was not a significant factor in the English revolution.[41] In Scotland immersion in court culture did not exactly equate with loyalty to the crown over support of kirk orparliament, Lady Home and her sons-in-law, the 2nd Earl of Lauderdale and the 4th Earl of Moray, supported the Covenant and were close to its leaders including the minister Alexander Henderson.

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[39] A. Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition*(Cambridge and New York, 1978); 'The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 By Lawrence Stone', review in *History and Theory, Studies in the Philosophy of History*, vol. xviii, no.1, 1979, pp.103-126.

[40] Stone, *Family, Sex and Marriage*, 224: Bryson, *Courtesy to Civility*, 219-20.

[41] M. Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Pennsylvania, 1987), 131-2, 247-54.

Objects can come to mark social difference by the barrier of their cost, by the difficulty with which they are obtained, by their prohibition to others by sumptuary or heraldic laws, or by their context in use. The keynote of the new civility as described by Bryson was education, and above all the characteristic of new luxuries was to demonstrate the educated taste of their owner in comprehendingnew fashions.[42] Taste was a successor of the chivalrous propriety or decorum which managed displays whose keynote was admiration and awe. In early seventeenth-century Scotland both desirable objects and discerning owners were described as 'curious'. Demonstrations of taste or curiosity depend on the participation of an approving peer group. Pierre Bourdieu called the lifestyle and assumptions of an individual or group an 'habitus', a constellation of attitudes and taste formed by an individual's history that patterns social behaviour.[43] This notion of habitus will recur in analysing the inventories of Lady Home. An aspect of the habitus imported by Lady Home was demonstrating an educated taste to her visitors with a collection of pictures, one of first collections of this kind in Scotland. A more intimate circle may have been entertained with scientific instruments which were costly and mysterious to the uninitiated. This coterie adopted a new habitus, perhaps freighted with Britishness, or part of a wider European cult of novelty.

1:3 Objects, agency and anthropology

Inventories prioritise the object, and can survive even when other archival evidence of the owner's life is sparse.Motives and attitudes can still be attributed to such fugitive owners based on their possessions or rather the reconstructed roles of these objects. Inventory information is often used to add colour to a biography; here an attempt is made to construct biographical narrative from inventories.Ideas from sociology and anthropology help us to understand the role of an object by recognising its agency – its continuing power to affect behaviour. Objects are often recognised for their representational functions, read as symbols carrying associations, but theories of agency can extend our understanding of the object beyond these semiotic roles. Veblen and Bourdieu focused on the object's role and agency in social differentiation and identification, as a mirror of distinction and as the means of social reproduction. This approach limits the recognition of the object's mediation in other kinds of discourse. As this study is concerned with the possessions and furnishings of the elite in Scotland, the role of objects in social distinction between ranks can be assumed. While all

[42] Bryson, *Courtesy to Civility*,151-92.

[43] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 170.

objects and activities may be regarded as maintaining social differences or solidarities, finding other sorts of relationships provides more nuanced understanding of domestic life and material culture, and the historical changes with which we are concerned.

Attributing enhanced agency to objects, studies in material culture can remove or diminish the dichotomy or dualism between (mostly human) subjects and objects. The anthropologist Daniel Miller describes how the cultural values and meanings of consumer goods constructsubjectivities. He identifies first-principleprocesses of externalization and internalisation with production and consumption, building on his reading of Hegel's concept of objectification, in which a subject grows by externalising or self-alienating conceptual objects, which are partially or symbolically re-appropriated, enriching the subject. By making objects, these ideas become things, and the initial objectification is repeated when objects are exchanged, used, or consumed. Throughout its life cycle an object, an embodied idea, can influence activities, events and other objects.[44] This capability of interaction as a theory of agency is equally applicable to found objects, natural objects selected for retention or display.[45]

This thesis is mostly concerned with the use of objects, but in Lady Home's inventories the subjects of paintings, with themes of food and nourishment, and equipment for making medicine or sweetmeats appearassociated. But it does not seem adequate to suggest that the paintings were chosen as symbols of the activity of making. Instead the paintings, physic, sweetmeats and garden visible through the windows were part of an activity and the display of that activity.In such contexts we can move from identifying objects to attributing motives to their owners. The inventories give an idea of space and activity in which objects communicated values, in this case identified as health, well-being, and virtues of domestic production, virtues which were stereotypically attributed to women, and intended to be attributed to Lady Home's daughters and granddaughters. Objects, spaces, owner and manners are indivisibly linked in a network constructing society anew.

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[44]D. Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford, 1987), 20, 27-30; 'Materiality an Introduction' in *Materiality* (Durham NC, 2005), pp. 1-60: F. R. Myers, 'Introduction: The Empire of Things', in F. R. Myers ed., *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (Santa Fe, 2001), 20–7: C. Tilley, 'Objectification', in C. Tilley *et al.* eds., *Handbook of Material Culture* (London, 2006), 60-73.

[45]Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, 147-57, 213: B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social* (Oxford, 2005), 84.

Sociology may provide a methodology for discussing such relationships in actor-network theory(ANT).ANT is claimed to overturn an enlightenment or Cartesian duality between human subjects and objects,summarised as a *Dingpolitik* formulated against such dichotomies. This claim has been criticised for its dependence on a 'flat' view of the development of modern cultural history and politics that can be readily challenged.[46]However, as a method of description of the roles of objects, building on ecological analyses,network theoryengages with the material world rather than minimising its role as a background factor within an ill-defined social context. Objects, actors, processes and connections are posited as the explanation of social order. Objects and people are regarded with symmetry as actors with equivalent capacity for agency. The effect of actor network as a concept is not far removed from the Foucauldian discourse in its suppression of subject-object dualism but the field of study is widened from language to include the material world.[47] This theoretical framework can be used to underpin observations and research, for instance that the furnishings of the late medieval hall, the food, the host, guests, servants, its architecture, and any other features comprised a working network which continually and simultaneously reproduced social difference, provided hospitality, dispensed franchise-justice, and constructed other effects yet to be discovered.

The idea of the network can be used to reconstructs the roles of objects and the lives of owners and their social circle. Lady Home's buildings and possessions could be characterised as a network which had the potential power to be transformative, by promoting activities as virtuous, creating knowledge, propagating court styles of furnishing, and associating her family with exemplary virtuous women, with the goal of promoting her daughter's marriage prospects, and cementing cultural union between England and Scotland.Seventeenth-century inventories show unambiguous evidence of change in material culture. Union with England may account for some of these changes, but other factors were significant – Scottish consumers adopted fashions from other European countries like France or the United Provinces. This thesis finds evidence that the domestic life of aristocrats in Scotland was

[46]F. Trentmann, 'Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics' *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 48, no. 2 (April 2009), pp. 283-307, 290-3, 300-1.

[47] Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 4-5, 37-9, 107-8: J. Law, 'After ANT: complexity, naming and topology' in J. Law and J. Hassarded., *Actor Network Theory and after*, (Oxford, 2006), 4.

patterned by English culture, while concluding that the extent of this process and rate of integration must have been variable.

Ideas like actor-network theory help to broaden conjecture about the roles of objects in lives and in society, suggesting that artefacts share mutual significance and can fitted into a bigger picture. Seduction into forming that bigger picture or network, a network that would include all things, may result in a loss of focus. Nevertheless, it seems inherently plausible that the Scottish aristocracy after the Union of the Crowns would discover a different role and acquire a different material culture to serve it. James VI was keen to further the full incorporating union of Scotland and England, and was frustrated in the English parliament. Keith Brown noted a fall in Scots numbers at court after 1611 which 'raises serious questions about the impact of court culture' in Scotland. While Scots could have become less engaged with the culture of performance at court, of the discourse of masque and theatre, and remote from opportunity for promotion, their exposure to material culture derived from court style must have cumulatively increased as more Scottish houses displayed furnishings from London. Brown also examined the enduring integrative policy of aligning culture in the two kingdoms by the marriage of Scottish courtiers to English wives.[48] At least two of these marriages were celebrated with masques with texts promoting Anglo-Scottish union.[49] Brown saw these marriages as exceptions to the experience of the majority of the Scottish aristocracy and also exceptional for a Scot was the participation of the Marquis of Hamilton in art-collecting. However, the inventories compiled by one such English bride, Mary Dudley, Lady Home show the route of cultural transmission by material culture. The Anglicisation of her Scottish homes and her art-collection emulating the 'Whitehall connoisseurs',the leading courtiers and royal favourites, exhibited and showcased court culture to those who had not made the journey to London.[50]

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[48] K. Brown, 'Aristocratic Finances', 64, 67-8; 'The Scottish Aristocracy, Anglicisation and the Court, 1603-1638', *The Historical journal*, vol. 36 no. 3 (Sept. 1993), 543-576, 546, 551-2.

[49] K. Curran, 'Erotic Policy: King James, Thomas Campion, and the Rhetoric of Anglo-Scottish Marriage' *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 7 no. 1 (University of Pennsylvania, 2007), 55-77: K. Curran, *Marriage Performance and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Farnham, 2013): M. Lee jnr., 'James VI's Government of Scotland after 1603' *SHR* vol. 60 no. 159 (1976), 42.

[50] E. Chaney ed., *Evolution of English Collecting* (Yale, 2004), 40-46.

Lady Home'sfurnishings may have been influential over following decades. Lack of evidence makes a full prosopographical study of aristocrats and their furnishings unrealistic, but it can be imagined that those who first acquired London furnishings were emulated by those in their sphere of influence. Equally, it could be asked whether otherswere for a time reluctant to discard furnishings, furnishings that now revealed a stronger Scottish identity. Certainly a number of late sixteenth-century chairs with initials and armorials survive, which must have been considered as antiquities for most of their lives, after the generation of their first owners. These were doubtless valued for their family association. In Chapter Two evidence for the acquisition and purchase of furnishings, reveals both women's agency and general demand for London-made furniture, and it may be surmised that female visitors to Lady Home's house in Edinburgh would have been motivated to acquire the London style.

1:4 Inventories as a source

Scottish inventory evidence is more heterogeneous than the English probate testament presenting differing problems of interpretation.[51] Inventories from the sixteenth century appear to be shaped by the minimum requirements of legal formulae. The nature of these sources suggested a thematic approach for this thesis which captures the optimum of the overlapping and restricted views of material culture provided by these sources, supplemented by the evidence of artefacts and literary sources, to show something of the character of Scottish furnishing and change in this period.

Inventories can be rich sources of information about houses and their furnishings, giving valuable insight into room use and plans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The relative status of family members and servants was demarcated by the furnishings of their rooms and beds. Comparing inventories can build up significant pictures of the habits of society, particularly elites in the early-modern period. Maurice Howard, Gordon Batho, and Charles Wemyss have made useful comments on the use of inventories for architectural history.[52] The most useful form of inventory for the architectural historian lists goods by

[51] D. Vaisey, *Probate Inventories of Lichfield* (Stafford, 1969): L. Weatherill, 'Probate inventories and Consumer Behaviour in England' in G. Martin & P. Spufford eds., *Records of A Nation* (London, 1990), 268: L. C. Orlin, 'Fictions of the early modern English probate inventory' in H. Turner ed., *The Culture of Capital* (Abingdon, 2002), 51 -83.

[52] M. Howard, 'Inventories, Surveys, and the History of Great Houses 1480-1640', *Architectural History*, 41 (1998), 14-29: M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House* (London, 1987), 72-83: G. R. Batho, *Household*

room. Household inventories are only occasionally included in Scottish registered testaments and their coverage of household goods is erratic.

Household goods were listed in English probate wills with sufficient uniformity to permit quantitative analyses. Registered Scottish testaments cannot be used in this way.[53] Most wills do not list the possessions, the *guids & geir* of the deceased, but give only their estimated monetary value. Wills that include goods and gear are rarely organised by room and so are less useful in reconstructing domestic life. However, farm-stock, clothing, ornaments of the body, and silver plate, not usuallylisted in other types of household inventory can be included. Many wills assign values to the items, and the absence of these prices in other registered wills is another indicator of the opacity and obscurity surrounding the testament. No guiding principle explaining the inclusion or omission of the list of goods and gear in registered wills has been discovered, which seems almost random.[54]

When a will listed goods and gear, the legal principles of heirship affected what was included. Heirship governed the process of administration of an estate and the succession of the heir. Heirship goods or movables were reserved as the automatic inheritance of an heir. In principle they were the best furnishings of a type if the house held several examples. The intention was to preserve the best of the *moveable goods* for the heir rather than let them be disposed of by the executor, who managed the whole of the estate during administration. Heirship originally applied only to barons (i.e. tenants-in-chief of the crown), burgesses and prelates, but was extended to all hereditary property holders. The societal benefit was the survival of the physical house, originally the locus of a barony.

Lists of disputed heirshipgoods do not represent house contents. They are selections of every 'best' item to which the claimant felt entitled.These lists are useful in establishing what was considered to be the best item by value, and often include estimated price data. Heirship goods would naturally include those furnishings which were pertinent to the construction of the status of a baron. Lists of heirship goods were provided in James Balfour's Practicks and Thomas Hope's *Minor Practicks.* The latter work from the first half of the seventeenth-

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Papers of Henry Percy, 9th earl of Northumberland, Camden 3rd series, vol. 93, (1962), xlv-xlvi, 103-133: C. Wemyss, 'Aspiration and Ambition', Dundee PhD, (2008), part 2 appendix 5A.

[53] L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain* (London, 1988), 59 & n. 20.

[54] M. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Life in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1982), 172.

century was not published until 1734, but the archaic nature of some items suggests a much longer history, especially the inclusion of the hall chandelier long after the demise of the hall.[55] The chandelier, which lit the high table, was a significant part of the assembly of objects constructing lordship.

Some items were never counted as heirship goods. The quantity and nature of lesser items were not recorded so these lists cannot supply information about the whole house and its furnishings. Conversely, heirship goods were regularly estimated and excluded from inventories of goods and gear. Wills therefore give only a partial inventory. The common notion of heirship goods may have formed a template for other inventories and lists, as the eventual questions of heirship might apply to any list of goods. The continued application of such a template would also have been a conservative force in vocabulary.

Inventories were made on the delivery of a place to another keeper or tenant after a death or in other circumstances. One example is the inventory of Barcaldine made in 1621 which refers to keepership.[56] These inventories can lack textile furnishings, kitchen utensils and some other items. What seems to be understood as the permanent content of the house reveals a very different understanding of furniture and fixtures to our own, since portable furniture is included. Although the purpose of the document was to settle future disputes between keepers and owners or heirs arising from any future losses, the contents were not assigned monetary values. When a dispute occurred then lists of possessions were produced which assigned cash values.

An inventory of Ferniehirst Castle made in 1646 has just thirteen entries. Eight rooms represent most of the spaces in the main building. Services and offices like brewhouse and stable are not included. Though brief, the inventory retains elements of a tour round the building, listing chambers descending from the caphouse of the tower. Only wooden beds, tables, a few chairs, and iron fire grates were recorded. There is no mention of bed curtains, tablecloths, linen, or pots and pans in the kitchen. The place appears empty, as if only the bare bedsteads remained with few other sticks of furniture. However, these items probably

[55] J. Balfour, *Practicks, Or, a System of the More Ancient Law of Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1754), 234-7: T. Hope, *Practical Observations Upon Divers Titles of the Law of Scotland, Commonly Called Hope's Minor Practicks. Written by Sir Thomas Hope* (Edinburgh, 1734), 538-543.

[56] RCAHMS, *Inventory of Monuments in Argyll*, vol.2, 176-81.

represent only the goods in the house for which a temporary keeper was liable, rather than the complete contents.

Rather than a snapshot of an empty house, the lack of other household goods or interest in office spaces show these inventories to be the product of a particular legal concern. They quantify only a limited range of furnishings. Portable wooden furniture was notionally grouped with the joinery of the building. Listing wooden furniture with doors and window frames may have originated in a conception that the furniture and the joinery of buildings was made at the same time by the same craftsmen when the houses were built. All of these things were 'wright-work' which complemented the stone fabric of the building. The actual term used was 'tymmer wark' which meant furniture or fixed joinery of all types. These 'timberwork' or 'keepership' inventories which include doors, window frames, and even floors are part inventory and part building survey. This category may be operating in inventories which seem Spartan and where textile furnishings are not prominent. As a concept, timberwork affects the structure of other Scottish inventories. Wooden furniture may be listed together, as at Banff Castle in 1580, and an inventory of Brechin Castle in 1622 which has a section of 'timmerwark and lockis'.[57]

An inventory of Floors in 1650 was combined with a survey which listed windows doors, and the wooden furniture. Chamber doors and windows were equally regarded as *movables* in Scots law, in which there was, as yet, no concept of 'fixtures'. Inventories or surveys which include doors and windows were made to protect the building. A 1589 mortification deed protected Tolquhoun Castle and broad categories of its contents to prevent the house becoming 'altogidder ruinus'.[58] It was intended to prevent future executors removing goods, including window frames, so the fabric of the building would be preserved for the heir through his minority. Categories included silver work, books, bedding, tapestry, napery, timber work, and artillery, showing that the timber work was merely an aspect of furnishing and building fabric, and not necessarily of highest priority.

[57] NRS GD40, Ferniehirst: NRS GD220/6/501, Floors: W. Fraser, ed., *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, vol.2 (Edinburgh 1859), 197-8: NLS Ms. 5114, fols. 1-5 Brechin castle: NRS GD50/2080 Banff 1580.

[58] J. Robertson ed., *Collections for a history of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff* (Aberdeen, 1843), 354-5.

An inventory of this type was made at Calder House in 1566.[59] Each chamber was listed with its doors and windows, and a concise vocabulary was employed to categorise the wooden furniture. The items were not given a monetary value, but the set of terms gave a careful indication of the value in terms of materiality and work involved. There were Flanders chairs and a 'Danskin', (Gdansk) 'comptar' table. It seems likely that the furniture that was not specified as Flanders and Gdansk was made in Scotland. Many items were made of Baltic oak, described as 'estland burd', some pieces of carved and turned work. Otherpieces in chambers of lesser status were of fir (imported pine) or 'tymmir'. The brief descriptions gave an indication of furniture type, material, and elaboration, sufficient to enable replacements to be made if required, and to seek estimates of wright-work if compensation was sought. The vocabulary shows that furniture was valued for its material, and decoration. Replacement like-for-like would involve future craft work, and thus the inventory records potential work rather than the monetary value of the existing pieces. A claim for compensation for goods taken from Newton in 1559 added prices representing the final stage in the process.[60]

Other inventories were made for housekeeping purposes. These contain notes of additions and losses. Scottish examples survive from the seventeenth century: the female housekeeper was a new seventeenth-century role taking some of the responsibilities of the male steward. These sources were examined by Charles Wemyss, who describes how they were signed by both owner and housekeeper to minimise recrimination if any shortfalls were discovered.[61]These inventories can appear more personalised than the two types discussed above, a written dialogue between the proprietor, often a woman, and servant, literally so when notes and comments gained responses.

A housekeeping inventory was made for Brechin Castle in 1622 by William Lyndsay, a steward of the countess of Mar. He compared the contents with a previous inventory from 1611, giving explanations for losses through wear and tear, and pilfering during the royal visit of 1617, and noting that the Countess of Mar has sent things to other houses. She signed and validated the text at the end, despite some noted omissions. The inventory lists furnishing fabrics, chairs and stools, napery and kitchen goods. A section recording timberwork and

[59] J. Beveridge ed., *Protocol Book of Thomas Johnsoun* (Edinburgh, 1920), 100-2.

[60] NRS CS7/20 fol.109r.

[61] Wemyss, 'Aspiration and Ambition', part 2, Appendix 5A, 125-150.

locks, is concerned with the fabric of the building, in the manner of a 'keepership' inventory. Lyndsay recorded the number of sheets that were away to be washed by Barbara, but was unable to enter some locked storerooms. These were all places where food was stored and Lyndsay did not have the authority to get the key for the stores. Perhaps it was not expected that the exercise of taking the inventory would include those spaces. This housekeeping inventory relates to the responsibility of individual servants' offices. Other inventories list room contents by room.

When inventories were made by wives and their housekeepers (as was usual in the seventeenth century), their priorities and responsibilities may produce lists omitting household functions that were not in their view, but were managed by husbands. Female spaces like closets and cabinets can be densely populated with objects with the character of personal possessions rather than furnishings. The furnishings of the husband's bedchamber were recorded, but his cabinet or closets and their contents can be absent. This gender division can be seen in the inventories of Moray House and Donibristle House made by Mary, Lady Home and her daughter Margaret, Lady Moray in the 1630s. In these booklets a folio was allowed for each room with ample space for comments and additions. Blank spaces and pages were subsequently filled with additions describing changes or purchases. The abundance of items recorded is overwhelming, at first sight obscuring the limitation of the inventory to furnishings and the possessions of the women. Objects which belonged to Lord Home or the Earl of Moray, but were outside the women's responsibility were not recorded. There is no mention of the porter, or stable, or the Earl's closet and desk at Donibristle.His desk and closet only appear in another inventory made after the house was raided during the battle of Inverkeithing in 1651.[62]

Recognition of these types of inventory is crucial to their use to understand furnishing. For instance, it is not clear that John Warrack (who seems to have mainly used wills as a source) understood the limitations imposed by the principles of heirship and keepership, which impose a selective filter on objects, and skew content and quantity. These principles both reduced the amount of objects recorded in sixteenth-century inventories and homogenise them, making direct comparison with later inventories made for housekeeping problematic. Keepership inventories in particular, with their lack of textile furnishing and upholstery,

[62] Moray papers, NRAS 217 box 5, nos. 1, 5, 6, 1202.

produce images of under furnished and Spartan interiors. Forms of inventories can contribute to general understanding of past attitudes to possessions.

Chapter 2 Buying for the home

2:1 Introduction

Understanding more about the processes involved in acquiring furnishings links the study of inventories and artefacts with more recent investigations into material culture and consumerism. Changes evident in Scottish inventories can be seen to reflect wider socio-economic contexts in Europe, and the historical phenomenon cited by Warrack explain distributions of wealth and artefacts in Scotland, rather than the nature, form, style or fashion of furnishings acquired. Most assemblies of elite Scottish furnishings recorded from the late fourteenth century onwards contain imported goods; luxury textiles from Italy and the Netherlands, and 'Flanders'or French chests and chairs. These items may well have been used in Scotland in different contexts to their countries of origin. Understanding how homes were furnished and new fashions adopted should help untangle the effects of international fashions and national and local social changes. This chapter looks at purchasing by men and women, where goods were made, and how goods were imported, whether by personal commission or by retailers. Some inventories give information on how objects were acquired. Household papers include correspondence, accounts and bills which can help to build a better picture of how things were acquired and used. However, apart from inventories, sixteenth-century sources outside the royal accounts are rare. There is more seventeenth-century material. Reflecting on seventeenth-century practices may give a plausible account of sixteenth-century practice, with the caveat that later sources show high levels of trade with London.

Documentary evidence of Scottish furniture-making before 1660 issparse. In Edinburgh the incorporation of masons and wrights began setting furniture making 'assays' in 1554 supervised by a French carver, Andrew Mansion.[1]It is probable that much wooden furniture in the sixteenth century was constructed by joiners who fitted out new buildings. This is implied by the form of the legal 'keepership' inventory which lists window frames and doors along with chairs, tables and bed frames. Everyday furniture-making may have been regarded as 'wright-work', the outcome of craft labour, subsumed into the costs of building, and sixteenth-century building accounts are extremely rare. People may have retained other

[1] ECA Anna Mill records, St Mary's Chapel minute book B1 fol.5v. I owe this reference to Dr Aaron Allen, University of Edinburgh.

accounts like merchant bills because of long-term credit arrangements; the bills of crafts workers who were unable to extend credit would be settled quickly, and not be kept.

Details of the work of later seventeenth-century wrights confirm this view. In the 1670s a master wright in Perth drafted his invoices in a minute book of the wright's incorporation. He made chests and chairs, mended London-made chairs, built shelves, and undertook structural joinery, constructing floors, roofs and scaffolding.[2] When Mary Countess of Home left Floors Castle in 1642 she sold unwanted furniture to a wright in Kelso. In 1640 she exchanged old-fashioned oak furniture with a London wright Mr Darby, in part exchange for a new walnut table. AfterDunglass Castle was destroyed by an explosion in 1640 fixed furniture was salvaged and sold.[3] These transactions suggest that even at this late period, workaday wooden furnishings and lumber could remain expressions of wright-work, mended and recycled by the craft.

Imported furniture was indicated as French, 'Flanders' or 'Spruce' (Prussian) in inventories. These were luxury pieces. Records of purchase fromthe 1490s survive in Andrew Halyburton's ledger. Halyburton was the Conservator of Scottish Privileges at Veere. His Scottish clientsexported produce such as wool which he marketed using the proceeds to buy tombstones, and ecclesiastical and domestic items. The value of small quantities exported balanced that of items requested. There is no reason to assume that the ledger represents the totality of his own activity in the period covered, let alone the whole Scottish trade at Veere.[4]The volume of the trade is shown by the ubiquity of 'Flanders' pieces in inventories from burgesses and earls, extending from beds, chests and the tables called 'comptars'to mattresses and pillow-cases.

Inventories and household accounts record purchases from merchants rather than the names of artisans and manufacturers. In Scotland, as elsewhere in Europe, makers slip from the

[2] NLS MS. 19289, account book and minute book.

[3] NRAS 217, box 5 no. 9, Floors: *CSP Dom*., 1639-1640, 5: W. Lithgow, *A briefe and summarie discourse upon that disaster at Dunglasse. Anno 1640. the penult of August* (Edinburgh, 1640): N. Akkermann, *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 2011), 938, 940.

[4] C. Innes, ed., *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton* (Edinburgh, 1867).

historical record, as Bert de Munck has described.[5]Finished foreign goods were often directly imported for clients by merchants and agents. Merchants' bills were often directed to the husband, only occasionally indicating that the wife had placed the order. In the seventeenth century, women who travelled to London were able to buy a greater range of foreign luxury goods from new retail outlets. Early modern consumption in England has been intensively studied since the 1980s. Much of the evidence base dates from the latter half of the seventeenth century.[6] Studies of household accounts tend to reveal that men bought clothes and items for their personal use while women bought food, clothes, and furnishing textiles. More expensive purchases for the home, like important beds, might involve the participation of both husband and wife.[7] Inventories do not normally give any indication of who ordered what.

Luxury shopping in London was promoted by Thomas Gresham and Robert Cecil in the Royal and New Exchanges, enclosed shopping areas concentrating on luxury goods which may have appealed especially to women. These new spaces also offered the opportunity of social encounter.[8]In much sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature, shopping in London by elite women is treated with moral disapproval. Consumption remained a live moral issue, and as Ian Archer describes 'shopping became a locus for anxieties about the gender order'.[9]Stage-plays regularly associated shopping for luxury items with women straying from male control, althoughtaking a significant role in purchasing for the housemay well have been a duty or chore. For such women this was an expected aspect of their household management

[5]B. De Munck, 'Artisans, Products and Gifts: Rethinking the History of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present* (2014) 224 (1): 39-74.

[6] Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 45-7: W. D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (London, 2002): M. Berg & H. Clifford ed., *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650-1850*, (Manchester, 1999): J. Brewer & R. Porter ed., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993).

[7] J. Whittle & E. Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* (Oxford, 2012), 61-62, 64-72, 84.

[8] A. T. Friedman, 'Women Domesticity and Pleasures of City', in L. C. Orlin ed., *Material London, ca 1600*, (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 232-49: I. W. Archer, 'Material Londoners?' in *Material London*, 174-192: D. Keene, 'Shops and Shopping in Medieval; London' in *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology in London*, (London, 1990), 29-46: K. Newman, 'City Talk, Women and Commodification' in D. Kastan & P. Stallybrass ed., *Staging the Renaissance* (London, 1991), pp. 181-95.

[9] Archer, 'Material Londoners?', 186.

rather than an opportunity for moral transgression. Viewed as a duty, early modern shopping may seem less of an instance of empowerment or opportunity for transgression.[10]

Scottish sources give a similar picture of women as active agents in acquisition.[11]Though well served by jewellers and merchants selling luxury fabrics, Edinburgh and other cities did not have new retail markets comparable with London's Exchanges.[12]The inventories made by the widowed Lady Home and her daughter Lady Moray in the 1620s and 1630s record numbers of London purchases, and demonstrate their major role in purchasing for house and garden, despite the interest of the Earl of Moray in household decoration.Survivingsources provide a picture with a gender difference, with women buying in London, while men who are eager consumers relied more on merchants as agents to complete their purchases. Women who did not travel to London, perhaps, relied on friends rather than commercial contacts.If women were less able to engage in credit arrangements, they may have been less able to make expensive purchases from foreign cities. Means, motivation and ability may have been essential for the early modern female patron of the arts.

The merchant John Clerk sent ribbons and other low-value items from Paris for female clients and friends, but procured and promoted luxury goods of higher value almost exclusively for male clients.[13]Clerk bought furnishings in Paris with which he furnished a house in Edinburgh in 1649 and proceeded to sell these to aristocratic clients. This was novel, at a time when only a small number of London retailers are known to have shown goods in their dining

[10] A. Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Boydell & Brewer, 2007): C. Walsh, 'Shopping at First Hand, Mistresses, Servants and Shopping for the Household in Early-Modern England' in D. Hussey & M. Ponsonby, ed., *Buying for the Home* (Farnham, 2008), 13-26: E. Ewan, 'The Early Modern Family', in T. Devine & J. Wormald ed., *Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 268-284, 273-5: K. Barclay,*Gender In History : Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester, 2011), 2, 41, 45, 48-50, 151-153: K. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2004), 138-42: Peck, *Consuming Splendor*: Whittle & Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, 72: N. Cowmeadow, 'Scottish Noblewomen, the Family and Scottish Politics from 1688-1707', unpublished Dundee PhD (2012), 158 – 190 , 276-7.

[11] W. Fraser, *Sutherland Book*, vol. 2, (Edinburgh, 1892) 132, 167-8.

[12]*Consuming Splendor*, 46-70.

[13] S. Talbott, 'Letter book of John Clerk, 1644-5', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society XV*, (Edinburgh 2013), 1-54.

rooms.[14]It is likely Clerk hoped to gainpolitical protection and patronage from his retail clients, and profit by lending them money.Clerk sought this patronage from male clients, and it possible that women who could not offer these advantages, however deep their purses, would not have been able to build relationships with agents like Clerk.

2:2 Gender, furnishing and inventories

Scots law prescribed a patriarchal marriage but aristocratic women could retain some control over their incomes and assets. Property owned before marriage was retained, but could not be sold without a husband's consent. The husband was only the administrator of lands which would pass to the wife's heirs.[15] James VI offered the conventional advice that a (royal) wife should be in charge of the household, but ought not to meddle in politics outside the home. James advised his son to 'holde her at the Oeconomicke rule of the house: and yet all be subject to your direction'.[16] The husband should limit his wife's authority to the domestic sphere. This authority, the economic rule was delegated by the husband, and all direction could revert to him, if necessary.

The king's advice described a status quo for elite marriage: it was a principle of Scots law that the wife was *praeposita negotiis domesticis*, - in charge of purchasing for the household. The assumption remained in Scots law until recently as a 'presumption that the wife is the husband's domestic manager'—'she hath the power to purchase whatever is proper for the family and the husband is liable for the price'.[17] The practical objective of this legal principle was not to enshrine women's authority, although it appears permissive in character, but to prevent husbands avoiding and disowning debts contracted by wives.

In terms of purchasing for the home, the situation of Scottish noblewomen probably differed little from England. The division of domestic labour or responsibility varied from marriage to marriage, and any national differences may be merely questions of nuance and interpretation. Instances of women's agency canbe representedas empowerment, delegation by husbands, or

[14] N. Cox & K. Dannehl, *Perceptions of Retailing in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2007), 156.

[15] W. Coutts, *The Business of the College Justice in 1600: How it reflects the Economic and Social Life of Scots Men and Women* (Edinburgh 2003), 140.

[16] Brown, *Noble Society*, chpt. 5, Chpt. 6, pp.140-1: *Basilicon Doron* in J. Sommerville ed., *King James VI and I Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1994), 41.

[17] *Scottish Law Commission: Report on outdated rules in the Law of Husband and Wife* (Edinburgh, 1983), 16.

as kinds of domestic labour and production. Overseeing building works or furnishing the house can be regarded both as a burdensome task and as an important responsibility, any difference in these roles need not imply a marked difference in gender equality between nations.[18] Contemporary attitudes to gender roles are ambiguous, but not necessarily anxious. In 1629 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Francis Cottington, described his wife's management of improvements to the garden and loggia at Hanworth as Amazonian, seemingly with approval: 'My wife is the chief contriver of all this Machine, who with her cloaths tucked up and a staff in her hand, marches from Place to Place like an Amazon commanding an army'.[19]

Cottington's attitude is complex; he regards her exuberant performance with pride and as suitable amusement for his correspondent. Her competence was not so threatening to his own authority that he would suppress the story. Gardeners and builders are not real soldiers, and his wife's commanding role within their garden wall is fit for gentle ridicule, though anxiety about gender roles and his wife's character may be present. Another English example shows an heiress, Lady Compton, describing to her husband how they should upgrade their houses when she came into her inheritance.Lady Compton wanted to have an allowance of £600 a year to spend on charitable works. She wanted separate coaches for herself and luggage, her women and their things, and new drawing chamber furniture in all her houses.[20] Linda Levy Peck sees the easy equation in this letter of luxury with the expression of wealth as an example of the 'demoralization' of luxury, the abandonment of its moral condemnation.[21]

Discovering women's agency in purchasingor directing improvements should not be surprising. Negative portrayals of women shopping which focus on excess and sinful luxury may obscure what was routine – that wealthy women, wives and especially widows, commonly built and furnished homes.[22]Discussing marriage in Scotland, Katie Barclay cites

[18] Ewan, 'The Early Modern Family', 273-5, 283: K. Barclay,*Gender In History : Love, Intimacy and Power : Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (MUP, 2011), 2, 41, 45, 48-50, 151-153: K. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2004), 138-42: Whittle & Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender*, 72.

[19] W. Knowler, *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*, vol. 1 (London, 1739), 51.

[20] G. Goodman, *Court of King James the First*, vol. 2 (London, 1839), 127-132.

[21]*Consuming Splendor*, 8-9.

[22] J. Day, 'Elite Women's Household Management: Yorkshire, 1680-1810', University of Leeds, PhD, 2007, 272-4*: Consuming Splendor*, 59-60.

letters from the later seventeenth century which show how aristocratic husbands making purchases consulted their wives, concluding that 'shopping was not an exclusively female task' – with the emphasis that shopping was a task not a leisure activity, usually undertaken by women.[23]Nicola Cowmeadow finds many examples of aristocratic Scotswomen at the end of the seventeenth century who exercised domestic control, supervised building work, and managed estates. Her evidence comes from couples who lived apart or letters of advice from widows to sons. She notes these duties in a positive light as a stepping stone to activity outside the house and estate in the public sphere. Some of these women built on their expertise in the domestic sphere to have active political influence. Thesewomen's experiences cross boundaries between the household, the private and domestic, and public and political life, the 'holde' recognised by James VI and legal principle.[24] While evidence from earlier periods is much less abundant we should assume at least that many or most noblewomen took responsibility for the management of houses, gardens, and the business of estates. For instance, the Viscountess of Montgomerie wrote to her husband in 1632 cautioning him about his building expenses; and in the public sphere Jane Drummond, Countess of Roxburgh interceded with Anna of Denmark on behalf of the Lord Advocate in 1608.[25]

Wealthy aristocratic widows, especially if their children were still minors, might exercise a great deal of autonomy. Some Caroline stage-plays feature disapproval of the relative freedom of widows, satirising London manners and female consumption. In Shirley's *Hide Park* the supposed widow Mrs Bonave was told she was 'sicke of plenty and command ... with too much liberty and too many servants ... your jeweles are your owne ... you have the benefit of talking loud at your table'. She would lose these benefits on remarrying.[26] Such plays were current when the widowed Lady Home (d. 1644) and her daughters shopped in London forfurnishings and ornaments. Unsurprisingly,objects and domestic details featured in these plays as tokens of extravagance are found in their inventories. Anglo-Scots elites were familiar with these plays.Ian Archer points to the critique of women's shopping in Ben

[23]Barclay,*Gender In History: Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland*, 2, 41, 45, 48-50.

[24] N. Cowmeadow, 'Scottish Noblewomen, the Family and Scottish Politics from 1688-1707', Dundee PhD (2012), chpt. 4, 158-190, 276-7.

[25] Fraser, *Annandale Book*, ii, 286-7: *Haddington Book*, ii, 118-9.

[26] J. Shirley, *Hide Park*, (London 1637), sig. C3-r.

Jonson's *Epicoene*.[27] The published edition of this play was dedicated to Sir Francis Stewart, the uncle of Lady Home's eldest daughter's husband.[28] Lady Home had a portrait of Ben Jonson in her house in Aldersgate which was later hung in the drawing room at Moray House.[29]

Housekeeping inventories were designed to keep track of costs, expensive purchases and reduce potential losses. These records formed part of the management of female servants who cared for textile furnishings. They also show the extent to which women made purchasing decisions. Unexpectedly, these inventories give an enlarged view of the female domain and may silently suppress the husband's personal possessions or male spaces, especially the study or male closet, discussed in Chapter Seven. The inventories are particularly strong in characterising spaces formed for women's activities and purchases they made. They give an impression of seventeenth-century room use characterised by gender in new ways which are not apparent in sixteenth-century sources. The contents and spaces described can show marked differences and demonstrate women's roles and agency in the home.[30] However, many aspects of room use and practices revealed in these inventories must have had earlier precedent, and can to a limited extent be traced in earlier inventories.

Inventories from the first half of the seventeenth century show new furniture types and an English vocabulary. Changes in vocabulary were not necessarily due to a general desire to emulate English diction, but could be the adoption of English terms for items bought in London. In Chapter Four the adoption of English words for bed components is discussed. The advice of Scottish women who attended court or resided in London regarding fashions and prices was sought by friends in Scotland. This could happen only if women were already in charge of household budgets, as the principle of *praeposita negotiis domesticis* suggests. Letters from London contributed to a pre-existing discourse where women sought fashionable furnishings. The influence of Scottish women at court may have promoted London imports over those from other centres like Amsterdam, Paris and The Hague.

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[27] I. Archer, 'Material Londoners', 185-6.

[28] M. Butler, 'Sir Francis Stewart Jonson's Overlooked Patron', *Ben Jonson Journal*, vol.2 (May 1995), 101-27.

[29] See inventory in appendix.

[30] For a historiography see K. McIver, 'Material Culture, Consumption, Collecting and Domestic Goods', in A. Poska, K. McIver. edds., *Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham, 2013), 471-488.

Household account books can refer to the purchase of furnishings but these were infrequent.[31]References to the purchase of linen and bedding are frequently found in letters written by women or accounts addressed to them, while bills to men for cloth are usually for clothing, though it is not always possible to tell if purchases of cloth were for clothes or furnishing.[32] Sixteenth-century examples include a bill for cloth for furnishing and clothes addressed to lady Bellenden of Broughton in 1587 and upholstery charged to Agnes Keith Countess of Moray in 1568.[33]

Tailors', upholsterers', and merchants' bills give an indication of some modes of women's agency. Bills for the Dundas family from Edinburgh merchants in the first half of the seventeenth century are mostly addressed to the laird, with items requested by the lady noted or grouped together. Walter Dundas kept an account book of his purchases in 1613, and notedsome items including fans as bought 'to the ladie'. In the next generation his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth Hamilton, Lady Dundas appearsa more active consumer, ordering fabric in person while the merchant addressed the bills to her husband. Alexander Pittilo presented bills to the Laird with an annexe of Elizabeth's purchases titled 'the ladie compt'.[34] However, these nuances in the formulae used do not necessarily reflect significant difference in practice. The effect of the *praeposita negotiis domesticis* principle would prevent the repudiation of wives' debts, so that any marital disputes over spending would not reach legal record.

Lady Dundas was billed personally for special groceries bought from William Fairlie in 1635.These included sugar, raisins, cinnamon and liquorice, groceries whichoverlap with apothecary's stock, and were ingredients for sweetmeats and distilled cordials made as physic, particularly the sweetened wines which were formerly known as hippocras. George Dundas probably did not deal with Fairlie himself or buy spices, but he may have settled the account. Buying foodstuffs and running an account with a cloth merchant are activities much

[31] C. K. Sharpe, *Extracts from the Household Book of Lady Marie Stewart, Daughter of Esme, Duke of Lenox, and Countess of Mar* (Edinburgh 1815): NRS GD26/5/512-6, Leven & Melville muniments.

[32] NRS GD112/33/1 no.3: NRS GD112/35/10 no.5: NRS GD248/69/4.

[33] EU Laing II. 2 (5pp.): *HMC 6th report & appendix* (1870), 658: Brown, *Noble Society*, 140.

[34] National Library of Scotland, Adv. Ms. 80/2/4 & 5, Dundas family papers.

as expected under the legal principle of *praeposita negotiis domesticis*, and are probably typical, but only the grocer's account was directly addressed to the lady.

Inventories reveal the presence of female housekeeping servants who were responsible for classes of items like napery or bed-linen. This kind of organisation is apparent in the structure of the Scottish royal household, though does not dominate the surviving inventories. In an inventory of Yester made in the 1580s responsibility for goods and room contents were allocated to various servants. At Floors in 1648, oneMarie Haliburton was in charge of chests of beds and shared responsibility for linen with Isobel Scott and Christian Colville, and similar responsibilities can be seen in an inventory of Brechin Castle.[35] Housekeeping servants working for Lady Home in the 1620s and 1630s purchased and embroidered linen and other cloths. They also annotated the inventories leaving notes for their mistress.

The use of the word housekeeper for this role dates from the end of the seventeenth century, previously it meant 'keeper of the house' in the sense of security, like a porter or constable. Both uses can be seen in the inventories of Gordon Castle, the 'Bog o'Gight'. In 1728 the housekeeper Helen Garrioch passed responsibility to Elizabeth Tyrie. Their predecessor at the castle, Andrew Hosack whomade an inventory as a housekeeper in 1699 was also described as the porter and key keeper.[36] It seems that an aristocratic household was usually administered by the wife and a higher female servant, often called the 'gentlewoman' in earlier periods. Other female servants were involved in laundry and brewing and worked in 'womenhouses and lavendars'. The duties of the 'gentlemen' servants whose rooms are recorded in inventories are not evident: they were probably porters, doorkeepers, ushers and footmen; lesser servants were 'men' and 'boys' in the kitchen, pantry, and garden. Higher and more valued servants were mentioned in wills, but in general evidence for the most basic level of household organisation in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Scotland is quite slight.

Scottish women played an active role in the purchase of textiles for the home, and evidence can also be found for their collaboration in purchasingother kinds of furniture. This is the more striking because so few records of any furniture purchasing survive. A letter written in

[35] NRS GD110/1324, (1579-1586), Yester inventory.

[36] NRS GD44/49/13, nos. 8, 13, 14, Gordon Castle / Bog o'Gight.

January 1614 shows that purchasing tips were exchanged between ladies at court and their friends in Scotland. Jean Ruthven wrote from Whitehall to Anna Livingston, Countess of Eglinton with news of progress with London purchases. Eglinton was seeking a replica of a resting chair belonging to Jean Drummond, Countess of Roxburgh. This resting chair may have been a kind of couch:

> According to the directions in yoor note, I have bought such things as yow desyred. As for a resting chyre lyk to my Lady Roxburghs, I did enquyre at an upholster the pryce of itt, and he told me if it werr of beitch wood it would cost 35s and if it were of walnote tree it wold cost 50s; ather of them without bottomes wilbe chepper.[37]

Robert Ker, Earl of Roxburgh was a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, and Lady Roxburgh was a lady in waiting of Anne of Denmark. Roxburgh was Mistress of Robes, and so connected with purchasing for the royal wardrobe. The letter shows that London-made furniture and types popular at court were desired in Scotland, that this desire was fostered in court circles, and that women were agents in the transmission of court fashions. In subsequent decades, Lady Home had at least fifteen couches, and used some of them to furnish her reception rooms at Floors, a house belonging to the Roxburghs.[38] The interest of these women in this particular furniture type suggests that it may have been primarily used by women in new drawing chambers.

Jean Ruthven was acting as a proxy for the countess, as a friend rather than a commercial agent. Ruthven dealt directly with the upholsterer rather than a merchant intermediary. Similar imports of furniture from London can be found in letters and bills involving male networks of kin and friends. Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun sent a bed to Scotland in September 1632. Gordonstoun included notes written by the upholsterer, showing that, like Ruthven, he dealt directly with the master craftsman.[39]

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[37] Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, vol. 1, 194: NRS RH13/11, an inventory of Floors Castle in 1648 mentions the bottom of a couch, perhaps Lady Roxburgh's.

[38] The Earl of Home occupied Floors, in his will of 1619, NRS CC8/8/51 he owes a fee of £180 to the gardener there.

[39] Fraser, *Sutherland book, Correspondence*, vol. 2, 157.

Court fashion was spread by courtiers who had roles in government in both Edinburgh and London. They travelled with furniture between the two capitals, and such furniture is listed in the inventories of Lord Kinloss, and the treasurer William Douglas, 7th Earl of Morton. Morton's list made c.1634 includes beds and chairs left at Whitehall for the Chancellor Lord Kinnoull, and for his daughter-in-law, Anne Villiers, Lady Dalkeith.[40] Morton's own furniture included fifteen stools and chairs that matched the bedsteads, and twenty-three red and white turkey stools and chairs. These chairs matched the predominant *gules* and *argent* of the Morton coat of arms. It seems likely that this furniture had been purchased in London for a previous visit, and brought to Scotland. Notes in Lady Home's inventories record purchases in London in various years between 1633 and 1643. She bought a variety of objects including paintings and furniture. She maintained a London town and suburban house, and the inventories record the transfer of furnishings between her English and Scottish homes. Her fashioning strategy, which disseminated a 'British' court style, is discussed in Chapter Five.

Other references show that London-made furniture was popular with other families, though few other references to furniture purchased by women can be found. John Gilmour, a rising advocate who prospered as a royalist and bought Craigmillar Castle at the Restoration, bought eight chairs in London in March 1636.[41] John Campbell, younger laird of Glenorchy had a great bundle of chairs and seven bundles of chair frames shipped from London to Perth in 1657 by a merchant John Campbell (who was probably a kinsman).[42] Once furniture had arrived at its destination, it was assembled and repaired by estate craftsmen, like the wright at the Bog o'Gight who in 1699 had a pair of drawers, a stander and a comptar, 'that he has to mend for the Earll of Huntly'.[43]

While these aristocrats went to some trouble to buy London furniture, the merchant John Clerk had furniture made in Edinburgh, which he expected to sell to clients of similar rank. The wills of some Edinburgh wrights reveal that they had booths and sold furniture they made, including carved chairs and beds, tables and chairs upholstered with leather.[44]Chests and chairs were also made in Perth, Aberdeen and elsewhere, yet London-made furniture had

[40] NRS GD150/2838/4, 'for my lorde to goe to Londone of stuffe'.

[41] NRS GD122/3/1 no. 21.

[42] NRS GD112/135/10, no. 13 (A painter and a basket of paints came with this shipment).

[43] NRS GD44/49/13/8 Bog o'Gight , George Gordon, 1st Duke of Gordon.

[44] NRS CC8/8/55 p.533-5 Walter Denniestoun, wright: NRS GD3/7/9, Jeremy Young, wright.

a cachet amongst certain groups. It is likely that those families with court roles and connections or those who successfully aspired to them would acquire London made or London retailed furnishing. Evidence from this high status group survives disproportionately. For those outside this circle, like Lady Innes, bed curtains fabricated at home could still be considered good enough to impress a premier earl.

Best bedchambers, dining rooms and drawing chambers were hung with tapestry and hangings. Unfortunately the characteristics of these hangings were rarely described in inventories. Some hangings sound as if they were relatively plain cloths. Tapestry and gilt leather hangings were the most prestigious and expensive. Joking at the preparations in Scotland for the return of James VI in 1617, George Garrard wrote to Dudley Carleton that 'it was reported the German tapestry makers were entreated to make hangings that should look old, in order that Scotland might be thought to have had such things long ago'.[45] While there is evidence for wall hangings of all kinds in Scotland before the return of James VI, the joke may convey a truth, that true tapestry hangings were owned only bythe elite.

Detailed notices of tapestries with named subjects are rare in inventories before 1650. Named subjects appear in the royal inventories, but elsewhere most references are to 'arras', 'verdure', or 'landscape hangings'. Walter Scott, Earl of Buccleuch, ordered tapestries while commanding a regiment in Holland in 1631 from Jan Russelair at The Hague. His suites of*Julius Caesar* and *Susannah and the Elders*were delivered in 1633. The six pieces of the *Julius Caesar* were of higher quality costing 86 stuivers the square ell, nearly double the 45 stuivers per ell for *Susannah*.[46] Tapestries were made in a variety of qualities and the difference was appreciated by elites across Europe. The*Susannah* was presumably for a lesser room. The three dimensions of quality, subject, and room use could form the basis more detailed study, but the lack of detailed evidence for tapestries in Scotland does not permit this analysis.

2:3 Home production

A letter written in July 1676 records the use of relatively plain hangings which were now becoming unfashionable. James, 2nd Marquis of Douglas, wrote to his factor about new

[45]*CSP. Domestic*, (London 1858), 464-5.

[46]NRS GD224/936/6, Chamberlains accounts.

hangings for the hall at Douglas Castle. The marquis was ashamed of the old hangings of plain sad coloured (grey or brown) cloth and requested new cloth which would be embellished with gilt leather.[47] Plain cloth was no longer smart enough for his hall.Sad-coloured woollen cloth was made in Scotland. Some, perhaps much of the weaving was organised by wool and flax producing estates which employed weavers and spinners in urban centres. As women managed households so it seems that they were particularly involved in production of cloth from the wool and flax of their own farms. This aspect of domestic production was highlighted by the phrase 'of my own making' encountered in correspondence and in wills. Women took ownership of cloth production as part of the imagery of the good housewife as spinner with distaff, although elite women probably took little part in the repetitive tasks of manufacture.[48]In 1633 the poet William Lithgow evoked pre-Union conditions as a time when lairds'wore the cloth their wives wrought with their hand'.[49]

In October 1642 when James Stewart, Earl of Moray was expected in Aberdeenshire, Jean Ross, Lady Innes wrote to her mother Margaret, Lady Ross, describing how she was making a bed and dressing 'a chalmer or twa' in case he visited. He was said to be 'veri curious' about interior decoration. The new bed was to be made of 'sad green serge of our aune making'. Fringes and lace for the bed would have to be bought elsewhere.[50] It is unlikely that Jean Ross or her servants wove the green serge from their wool at Innes. She meansthe practice of sending wool and lint to outworkers to be made into cloth, perhaps at Elgin. Ross referred to 'our own' wool, and other women wrote of cloth of 'my own making'. More evidence for this practice and attitude comes from the Eglinton estate in Ayrshire, mentioned in the 1596 will of Jane Hamilton, Countess of Eglinton, who bequeathed blankets made from a kinsman's wool of 'my awin making'.[51]

[47] W. Fraser, ed, *Douglas Book*, vol. 4 (Edinburgh 1885), 276-7,

[48] A. Jones & P. Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and Memory* (Cambridge, 2000), 104-32.

[49] W. Lithgow, *Scotlands Welcome to King Charles* (Edinburgh 1633), sig. B4.

[50] Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, vol. 2, 257-8.

[51] Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, vol.1, 233-236.

In the 1620s Anna Livingstone, Countess of Eglinton had cloth woven by her mother-in-law's servant at Seton in Lothian.[52] She also set weavers working in Glasgow. According to a 1624 account, wool was sent to versatile outworkers who produced a variety of weavings distinguished by width, weave and colour,as blankets, worset, broadcloth stemming, black and yellow linsey-worsey, sey bombasie, red worset, grey cloth, and black and yellow perpetuana.From the lint she provided, linen cloths were woven including 'harn boardcloths', sheeting and napkins. The workers were paid with money and meal.[53]Linens were made in local centres, notably Dunfermline, and in 1615 the Earl of Sutherland wrote that a variety of linen he required was made in the north, and was not available to him in Edinburgh for immediate purchase.[54]

The diversity of weaving practice is shown in the records of the incorporation of Glasgow weavers. Statutes for taking on weaving work were set out in 1595 defining the relations between clients like the Eglintons and the weavers. Linsey-worsey, a fabric with wool weft and linen warp, first appears in the records in 1604. In 1621 apprentices were to be instructed in the wound loom, the sey bombasie loom, the plaid loom, and plaiding. These four processes were called the four points of the weaver craft. A later document mentions the weaving of 'double coverings,' these woven coverings were the 'Scottish coverings' found in inventories. Linen fabrics included the table linens called 'dornicks' and 'gamheckling' a fabric used for sheets at Hamilton Palace in 1647.[55]

The Countess of Mar left clothes and cloths to her niece of her 'own making'.[56] She, Jean Ross and the Countess of Eglinton took ownership of goods that they had some hand in producing, however slight or tangential. This pride in home production can be regarded as a traditional aspect of marriage, proverbially symbolised by the distaff, though wives may not have actually spun thread themselves. The appearance of the phrase in wills indicates that the quality of personalisation by the testator is to be valued, enhancing the value of the bequest as a gift. Nevertheless, these fabrics were increasingly relegated to practical usage rather than

[52] Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, vol. 1, 211-2, 'Quhilk foirsaid geir is of my awin making, and maid of the said David's woll'.

[53] NRS GD3/6/36 no.6.

[54] Fraser, *Sutherland Book*, ii, 116.

[55] R. McEwan ed., *Old Glasgow Weavers* (Glasgow 1908), 25, 28, 48, 50.

[56] NLS Ch.4033, 6 January 1603.

used as display fabrics in the main rooms of the house, superseded by imported fabrics and gilt leather. Luxury was distanced from personal production.

While cloths of high complexity like silks and damasks were not woven in Scotland, luxury trimmings of woven from gold thread and silk for upholstery were made in Perth and Edinburgh and presumably elsewhere. A John 'Dutchman' passmenterie maker was recorded in Edinburgh in a minor legal dispute in 1603, with a partner Katherine Thomson for failing to pay a merchant, Alan Borthwick, for silk.[57] In the 1630s Perth was home to Nicholas Herman, a passmenterie weaver from Antwerp. He worked under the patronage of the Laird of Glenorchy, who provided his house in Perth. Herman had five employees and a workshop equipped with silk trimming mills. In July 1633 Herman wrote to Glenorchy that his latest order would not be ready because his men were completing fringes for the beds and chairs of the Chancellor, George Hay, Earl of Kinnoull, to whom Herman gave priority. Herman returned to Antwerp at some point in the decade, and an inventory was made of his own household gear and his stock of finished passmenterie.[58]These trimmings could be used on new or re-upholstered furniture. Quality upholstered furniture was finished and refurbished in Scotland, a detail that balances the many records of London purchases, and challenges the assumption that most such furniture was imported.

Passmenteriemaking was one of the few luxury trades which could be easily established in new centres of production. It would be harder to foster the weaving of complex brocade cloths or tapestries, where new manufactures would be undercut by existing trade networks with established centres. For passmenterie however, the raw materials of silk and gold threads were already supplied to Scottish merchants, and Herman would find a niche by producing exactly the kind and quality of trimming required by his clients to order, for furnishing or for clothes. Buying from the stock of ready-made trimmings imported from weaving centres in the Low Countries or France would theoretically have been cheaper, but the merchant would be vulnerable to the vicissitudes of fashion, exposed to the risk of having outdated unsaleable stock. Herman found that demand could exceed his capacity, hence his letter of apology for prioritising Kinnoull's order before his landlord's.

[57] Edinburgh City Archives, Register of Decreets SL234/1/6, (n.p.) 1 Dec 1603.

[58] NRS GD112/39/49/16, GD112/39/49/5, GD172/2052.

2:4 John Clerk: import and retail strategies

The examples of purchasing seen above include foreign textiles, Scottish textiles, and finished goods imported by individual commission, like the purchases recorded by Andrew Halyburton conservator of the staple at Veere in the 1490s, who sold primary goods exported by his clients in Scotland and bought the Netherlandish goods they required with the proceeds.[59] Other purchases would have been directcash transactions, or commissions like an embroidered altarpiece commissioned in Bruges in 1532 for James V.[60]

John Clerk settled in Paris in the 1630s and acted as merchant and purchasing agent, involved in the sale of luxuries, paintings and fancy goods. In the years 1647 to 1649, instead of acting as a buyer and commissioner of French goods, Clerk bought a range of goods with his own capital, intending to meet anticipated demands from his clients, and retailed this stock to aristocratic clients from a house in Edinburgh. There is no evidence that other merchants in Edinburgh and other centres carried such a range of expensive finished products. It can be assumed that for the most part merchants in Edinburgh held stocks of fine fabrics which tailors and upholsterers made into finished pieces like beds, rather than stocking ready-made items. Merchants probably held small stocks of the more portable luxuries, like the boxes and standishes (writing boxes) for desks which feature in Clerk's records, and craftsmen sold furniture they had made in their booths

Clerk's earliest set of accounts date from March 1633 and record the purchase in London of a large quantity of haberdashery; silk garters, ribbons, hatbands, stockings and clothing fabrics.[61] This stock was for Edinburgh where demand for fine clothing was increasing in advance of the visit of Charles I to Scotland. Sir David Cunningham described in Mayhow clothing for the event was more sumptuous than that made for James' return in 1617.[62] This venture was sufficient to finance his establishment in Paris in the autumn of 1633 and he became a factor to the merchant elite.[63] Clerk returned to Edinburgh in 1649 and retired as a

[59] C. Innes, ed., *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton* (Edinburgh 1863).

[60] NLS Balcarres Mss. vol. 5, fol. 104.

[61] NRS GD18/2358.

[62] NRS GD237/25/ 2 no. 11, 1/5/1633.

[63] NRS GD18/2359: S. Talbott, Beyond 'the antiseptic realm of theoretical economic models,' new perspectives on Franco-Scottish commerce, *Journal of Scottish Historical Research* (vol. 31 no.2, 2011), 165: J. J. Brown, 'The social, political and economic influences of the Edinburgh merchant elite, 1600-1638,' unpublished

laird in 1654.[64]Apart from merchandise, Clerk's fortune was built on the profits of loans and bills of exchange, to the same elite patrons who bought his luxury imports. Clerk has gained scholarly attention as a picture dealer, and his success depended on his ability to engage intelligently with current tastes.[65] Aristocrats relied on Clerk to buy books, scientific instruments, and furnishings – aspirational goods with which they hoped to improve their standing with their peers.

Clerk bought in Paris for William Kerr, 3rd Earl of Lothian (1605-75), noted as an early art collector. His father Robert Kerr, Earl of Ancram, held posts in the bedchambers of Prince Henry and Prince Charles. (Robert Kerr signed the 1626 marriage contract of the son of Mary, Lady Home: he had lodgings in the long gallery at Whitehall) William Kerrwent on a grand tour to Florence in 1624 and from 1641 collected pictures for Newbattle House, those from Clerk were mostly portraits and small cabinet pictures.[66] He met Clerk in Paris in September 1643, buying two paintings that Clerk showed him in his chamber. Lothian wanted the pictures for his cabinet at Newbattle, that 'place when I am att Home intertains me most'.[67]Clerk's letters show that he was trusted to negotiate for Lothian's pictures, and get them restored and varnished. Clerk communicated details of the art market, in order to maintain his confidence, reporting in 1644 that the Parisian dealer Alfonso Lopez would not reduce his prices, assuring Lothian that two available Tintorettos had been bought for Cardinal Richelieu.[68]

Lothian had started to order a dining-room suite in Paris in 1643, and Clerk's partner Colonel Thomson oversaw the rest of the purchase of hangings and carpets, twelve chairs with two

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Edinburgh PhD (1985), p.211-8: J. Lloyd Williams, 'The import of art: the taste for northern European goods in Scotland in the seventeenth century', in J. Roding & L. van Voss eds., *North Sea and Culture 1550-1800* (Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 298-323.

[64] S. Talbott, 'British commercial interests on the French Atlantic coast, c.1560–1713', *Historical Research*, vol.85 no.229, 2012, p. 394.

[65] R. Wenley, 'William Third Earl of Lothian, Covenanter and Collector'*, Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 5 no. 1 (1993), pp. 23-41.

[66] Wenley, 'William Third Earl of Lothian, Covenanter and Collector'*,* 26: John Coffey, 'Kerr, William, third earl of Lothian (*c.*1605–1675)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15468, accessed 2 Sept 2014].

[67] Wenley, 'William Third Earl of Lothian, Covenanter and Collector', 25.

[68] NRS GD40/2/18/1: Wenley, 'William Third Earl of Lothian, Covenanter and Collector', 27.

armchairs and six folding stools. Thomson was solicitous of detail, writing to Lothian to ask if he preferred the fabric nailed to the chairs with gilt nails, or if the covers should be loose. Thomson expressed his own preference for drop cushions.[69] Such correspondence must have been usual between buyers and agents. These letters show how the dealers represented themselves as arbiters of fashion, a confidence essential to their trade. It was not however all high-art, Lothian also had Clerk buying him boots and shoes by the dozen.

In 1646 Clerk sent Lothian a rare book via John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale. Clerk gave Lauderdale a copy too, ever anxious to increase his circle of clients and allies. Lothian, Lauderdale, and his brother-in-law the Earl of Moray would buy from the stock that Clerk imported to Edinburgh. Lauderdale wrote for the price of an ebony cabinet with silver trim and a watch.[70] Moray and Lothian were Clerk's principle customers, both for luxuries and loans. Clerk's business rested on a close connection between selling luxuries and lending, and the manner in which Clerk drew on the earls' rivalry in status helped his sales and also the more lucrative business of money lending.

In December 1649 Clerk set up his stock to show in a house in Edinburgh, much as he had shown pictures in his chamber in Paris. He made a note of furnishingsindicating that these items were for sale. Clerk habitually recorded prices in livres tournois, even if they had been bought in Edinburgh or London, a livre-tournois was worth about eighteen English pence at this time, or roughly one Scottish merk.[71]The house in Edinburgh must have been a kind of show-home, where these luxury furnishings and accessories were exhibited to elite patrons. A set of hangings was displayed in the gallery and the 'next room' which were furnished with all the other items for sale. Clerk gave the furniture commercial descriptions, using adjectives like 'curious' and detailing features like locks and accessories. Ten larger pieces had been shipped from Paris 'by great charges bringing it home' though these costs were not recorded. Most of this furniture was made of walnut: a 'curious great walnut trie press opens with 4

[69] D. Laing ed., *Correspondence of the earls of Ancram and Lothian*, vol.1 (Edinburgh 1875), 153-4, 157: NRS GD40/2/13, 3 Oct. 1643.

[70] GD18/2426, Lauderdale to Clerk: J. Lloyd Williams, 'The import of art: the taste for northern European goods in Scotland in the seventeenth century', in *North Sea and Culture (1550-1800)* (Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 298-323.

[71]F. Portier, 'Prices Paid for Italian Pictures in the Stuart Age', *Journal of the History of Collecting*, 8.1 (1996), pp. 53-69, 54: J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775* (London 1978).

great leaves and two drawers with shelves', a 'werie strong' walnut chest with 'curious' locks and bands.

These purchases required Clerk's input in complex commissions employing his detailed knowledge both of luxury production and the potential Scottish market. Clerk would have had to give detailed instructions on specifications, materials and finish appropriate to his market. This can be seen in his record of purchases showing that he oversaw the making of these composite items; a record of a pair of virginals giving separate prices for various finishing processes, a case of surgeon's instruments individually priced, and a pair of pistols with their ebony furniture, mounts and making separately billed.[72]For each process Clerk was able to specify variations in quality according to his estimation of the Scottish market. Other stock listed in Edinburgh in 1649 includes French walnut furniture, some acquired in the years 1646 and 1647. Cabinets of ebony and cedar, cypress wood boxes, and a varnished box, were all supplied by a Monsieur Despont in Paris. A spinet from Monsieur Brussels cost 295 livres (£16-5s). The rest of the stock was a bewildering range of fancy goods including several types of luxury boxes lined with marbled paper, hardwood hammers, with enamelled and silver medals of Cardinal Richelieu. Clerk sold some antiques, weapons described as 'curious' were vintage or antique, including a two-handed sword and a short sword said to have belonged to James VI.

Some of the furniture in this stock had been bought in Edinburgh and London. A fir chest made in London cost 25s. A wainscot table for drying made by a wright in Foster's Wynd was priced at 7 livres. John Gray in Leith had made an iron chimney. Twelve small chairs with Russia leather and round nails at 66 livres, a Russia leather stool at 3 livres, and four Russia leather stools at 6 livres each, the kind of chairs used in dining rooms, were made in Edinburgh. A pine settle or bench, a 'fir langsaddil', cost 14 livres 10 sous and a large chair covered with 'counterfit carpit' with a gray buckram case cover cost 16 livres.

Clerk hung asuite of 'tapestry' in the 'gallerie and nixt roume', which he noted: 'will hang a werie large roum or twa roumes off a reasonable bignes'.[73] These were rich textiles rather than woven tapestry, bought from a Monsieur Dacquet in Rouen. There were two colours,

[72] NRS GD18/2506.

[73] NAS GD18/2506, p. 72, p.102, p.106.

one ‘drawing to the green’ the other ‘drawing to the blue’ with matching table covers and carpets for tables. It was sold to Margaret Leslie, Countess of Buccleuch for 195 livres, in November 1650, confirming that Clerk was not buying to order, but with the expectation that Scottish buyers could be found. Back in 1644 Clerk had thanked Lothian for introducing him to the Buccleuchs, writing that ‘I shall give them all sort of contentment god willing’.[74]

Clerk bought ‘curiously wrought’ ivory tipped billiard cues in London – items which Lady Home had bought for herself in 1637. Amongst other London purchases was a standish, made of sample timbers, ‘meager tree’ and ‘violet Virginia wood’. Clerk’s colleague in London, Robert Inglis, a trading partner since 1633, organised shipping and payment. In July 1650 Clerk received an ivory coffer in a wainscot box, a looking glass, anda wainscot cabinet with feet, made by Mr Thomas Bursie in London for £7-10s. The cabinet had drawers and a case in the middle with small drawers. It was packed in two fir cases with its ‘rods’ and feet. Shipping cost £4 and Clerk paid 20s for carriage from Leith.[75]

The Earl of Lothian bought the most expensive item from Clerk’s stock, a bed and its matching furniture. The bed is detailed in at least two of Clerk’s account books.[76]The suite included eight chairs, a great chair, two little stools and a walnut table. It was upholstered in grey and cost 952 livres tournois 8 sous. Clerk’s profit was modest; Lothian paid 970 livres. Clerk paid for the fabric, the making and the joinery, indicating that he commissioned the suite from scratch.[77] Although the grey fabric does not sound particularly luxurious, the bed was expensive by the standards of the day. The silk fringes and ‘crisp’ trimmings contributed more than a third of the cost. Clerk’s small mark-up could hardly have covered his expenses: it seems likely that this luxury trade, at least for the most expensive pieces was a loss-leader establishing Clerk in more lucrative financial dealings and the more profitable business of money-lending.

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[74] NRS GD40/2/18/1.

[75] NRS GD18/2512, further details of the wainscot cabinet mentioned in GD18/2506.

[76] Wenley, ‘William Third Earl of Lothian, Covenanter and Collector’, 30: NRS GD18/2499, letters of Lothian to Clerk 1649-50.

[77] NRS GD18/2483, pp. 11-2, 16, 26-7, 35, 42, items brought to Scotland in Hans Classe ship of Hamborough, arrived 8 March 1647: GD18/2506, p. 73 ‘ account of a gray drap de sceau bed as it cost me at first buying’: GD40/2/18/1 no. 7, the bed is also detailed in Lothian’s account.

The Earl of Moray bought a cabinet, a standish, two walnut stools and other minor pieces. Lettersbetween Clerk and Moray survive because of the main business between them concerning a loan of 7,000 merks. Clerk had been reluctant to lend the sum and the Earl was reluctant to repay it.[78]Moray wrote to John Clerk asking him to come to Donibristle and give his advice on the work of English joiners who were panelling his closet in August 1649. Clerk showed his merchandise to the earl in Edinburgh, and also sent him fabric samples. The Earl's letters illustrate something of their relationship as client and creditor and merchant and moneylender:

> As for your six stoulls I cane conceave no use I have for so manie except I had bocht the hail furniture, but for tuo of them if yow please I will take and lykwayes the square thing you speake of for playing of dyce or telling of money, I lykwayes desire that boxe that conteanes ane dussone of horne cuppes with all soirts of little naills in it, ... Lykwayes let me know the lowest pryce of that little piece [*the short gun*] the fellow of that you sold to my lord Seafort as lykwayes the lowest pryce of the staffe[*a cane*]. Let your boye come presentlie over with the boxe with the naills with ane note of the lowest pryce of these uther particulars, and iff it be not your owne fault I think we shall aggrie.
>
> My Inglishe joyneris are heir making my closet within ten dayes or fortnight,[79] I will advertise yow to come over that I maye have your advyse in some things, if at which tyme you shall command thes dollars yow have bene so long keeping but you must bring over as mutche money of some other kind for treulie I am now scant at this present. So expecting your boye with the boxe and naills with all diligence
>
> I continow your assured friend MURRAY

The earl, who was described as 'very curious' in matters of furnishing, was happy to consult with Clerk on aspects of interior decoration. This request for advice was an attempt to flatter Clerk, to bring him over the Forth to Donibristle and oblige him to lend money. The Earl also bought cloth from Clerk. Clerk had sent him a fabric sample.[80]However, the inventories kept by his wife and mother-in-law mention only his purchase of a single French carpet from Mr

[78] NRAS 217 box 5 nos. 66-70: Moray papers: NRS GD18/2487.

[79] The English joiners were William Gabriel and Robert Cockeshead, see NRAS 217 Moray Papers, box 5 nos. 808, 814, 945.

[80] NRS GD18/2489, no. 12, 13, 14.

Clerk, and some plaiding bought in the north, and it seems probable that the majority of furnishings at Donibristle listed in their inventory were bought by the women. Moray's purchases may have been for his cabinet and other spaces private to him.

Clerk toldthe Earl of Lothian that Moray would buy the best itemsfrom his stock if he would not commit to purchase them. To play off the two earls in this way, Clerkmust have been confident that his business was unrivalled in Edinburgh.Hepreferred Lothian as a client over Moray, writing that in terms of discounts and rebate he 'wold not doe to none in Scotland what I have done to your Lordship'. After Moray had spent an afternoon with Clerk in Edinburgh, he offered Lothian another chance to buy, claiming that Moray complained that Lothian bought the best things and he sold him trash:

> My Lord Morray wes with me yesterday all afternoon and hath boght divers things: he is to be again betuixt 12 off the clok and on: this day: and for any thing I knowe will be heir all this afternoon – since your Lordship wreat to me ye would not have them: I did shewe him all thes things is in the enclosit memoire – except the things markit [*tick*] which I wold not showe till your Lordship refused them – off a treuth yesternight we wer verie neir agried for the most part off all when he returns iff they be to be disposed on: Treulie I knoue nothing bot we will agrie for the choysest of them all.
>
> If your Lordship tak them I wold send them down to your Lordship presentlie; and thair efter shall cum doun – and number everie thing acording to the accompt; unlesse they be taken away as I am a Christian he will never beleve me that they are sold – he vexes me continuallie and sweirs your Lordship gets all the best things and he gets the trash – I shall be glad your Lordship wold make an end and returne me an answer without delay that I may transport them iff your Lordship tak them.[81]

Clerk was not embarrassed to represent to the earls that they were rivals for his merchandise. At first sight he seems to have invited the earls to a 'tournament of value' an exchange framed as a status contest, where prices exceed those realised in ordinary circumstance since the participants are purchasing their honour as well as the goods.[82] Clerk addresses the

[81] NRS GD40/2/18/1 no. 17.

[82] A. Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge, 1988), 21-2.

earls'apparent rivalry, perhaps based on Moray's superiority in terms of lineage and Lothian's rising status, his familiarity with the court and channels of patronage, and expertise in connoisseurship of new luxuries. However, Clerk seems only to have made modest profits from this stock. It seems that this was a tournament with a twist, where Clerk gained not by the prices realised, but by the profits of ingratiation, by his future money-lending to the Earl of Lothian.

Clerk lent money to both earls, but probably calculated that Lothian would be a more useful long term ally and perhaps a long term source of profit. In 1650 Clerk moved to Dundee. In January 1651 when General Middleton and Lewis Gordon, 3rdMarquis of Huntly seized some of his merchandise in Aberdeen, Clerk appealed to Lothian to approach Middleton on his behalf.[83]He supplied the courtiers of Charles II at Dunfermline and Perth. In March 1651 Lothian bought a silver box for perfume, a picture of Henry VII that had belonged to William Murray at Ham House, two stone sculptures, a 'curious' canon, and a 'rare flat' terrestrial globe. Clerk was paid 3s-7d for 'un-rousting' Lothian's mathematical instruments. However, Clerk had not repudiated his origins in haberdashery, and his bill to Lothian includes many more humdrum items, giving a rounder picture of life at court. At Perth in December 1650, Lothian was supplied with hose, socks, combs, razors, a knife for cutting foot-corns, and washing balls for laundry. Later, during the 1650s, Lothian was unable to repay his loans from Clerk. Clerk bought Lothian's collection of antique gold coins, mortgaged the silver which he had bought for him in Paris, and negotiated the sale of some of his farmlands.[84]

John Clerk's decision to leave Paris in 1647 and import a stock to Edinburgh seems to have been a commercial decision based partly on the circumstances of the war. In Scotland, Clerk sold to the same clients who had previously commissioned purchases in London and Paris, or had previously shopped in London personally. His inventories of goods include glimpses of his skills in salesmanship, with descriptions briefly highlighting selling points.

2:5 Conclusion

Scottish elite women managed many or most aspects of the household. This was expected and evidence of women purchasing furnishing goods, or objects now regarded as fine-art,

[83] NRS GD40/1/18/1 no. 9.

[84] NRS GD18/2445, Clerk of Penicuik.

commissioning and supervising works in gardens or buildings, should not necessarily be regarded as unusual. The extent to which purchases made by women were discussed with or directed by husbands is of course unknowable. Furnishings recorded in the sixteenth century seem more culturally determined, rather than subject to individual preference, especially those in public areas like the hall. Furnishings were not arbitrary purchases but seem to have well-understood roles in the elite home. Exercise of choice may have been limited within a fairly fixed framework. This may also have been true in the seventeenth century though the world of goods was greatly expanded.

It is clear that production and consumption changed in the seventeenth century, when there were more objects to buy and more scope for choice and exercise of taste. Exercise of taste itself now became a desirable aristocratic quality, and it is clear that John Clerk profited from this sensibility, engaging with his client's aspirations. Inventories record paintings, sculptures, and ornamental objects like porcelain and glass displayed on shelves. Wives who bought furniture and furnishings presumably exercised freedom over the detail and specification of purchases, like the colour, trimmings and fabric of beds, up to mutually agreed budgets. Women dealt directly with the master craftsman, the upholsterer in London, rather than an intermediate merchant.Lady Home bought newly fashionable objects in London, as we shall see in Chapter Five. Lack of attention to women's agency in the furnishing of the early modern home may be due in part to narratives of later seventeenth-century practice, where the upholsterer and furniture maker were subordinate to the direction of a male architect working for a male client.[85] In the buildings of Lady Home and her son-in-law the Earl of Moray at Donibristlewe have architecture constructed by Scottish master masons and architects, with interiors finished and supplied by London craftsmen.

Furniture from London was fashionable and high-end commissions in Edinburgh may have declined. This,and a decline of merchant trade was described in a poem by William Lithgow written to commemorate the Scottish coronation of Charles I, in the voice of Scotland personified;

> As for my trades, they're ruined with decay,
> There few or none imployd: My Nobles play,

[85] G. Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England, 1660-1820* (London, 1981).

> The curious Courtizan, that will not bee
> But in strange fashions; O! what noveltie
> Is this? That London robbes Mee of my gaine:
> Whilst both my Trades and Merchands suffer paine.
> Nay; I must say, there is no courtly guyse,
> Nor frivole toyes though frenchifyed thryse,
> Bee't in or out of fashion, Myne must have it;
> Though neither meanes nor honesty would crave it.[86]

Lithgow's Scotland laments the waste of her rents on the 'lovelesse labour' of neighbouring lands and lords who post to court.While those who travelled to London bought London-made furniture from upholsterers, the same clients bought trimmings or *passmenterie* for renewing the upholstery of furniture which was made in Scotland. Craftsmen from the Low Countries settled in Scotland were able to satisfy some of the demand for new furnishing fashions. Carved oak furniture was still made in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and other centres. Unfortunately it is difficult to link up this furniture with its markets. There is no evidence that Edinburgh wrights supplied a burgess rather than an aristocratic market, although this is likely.

John Clerk was an agent for purchasing in Paris, supplying the desire for 'Frenchified' goods. Lord Moray bought a French carpet from Clerk, while Lady Moray bought their English-made 'French' beds in London.[87]Perhaps Clerk's male clients were unable or disinclined to spend time in London shopping, which was increasingly difficult in the 1640s for some. Buying from Clerk could bring several advantages but did not provide the pleasurable personal experience of shopping in London. Clerk returned to Scotland in 1649 with a stock of French furniture and other goods, much of which he sold to the same client group, including the Earls of Lothian and Moray, and the Duchess of Buccleuch, and he supplied the court of Charles II in Scotland until July 1651.

It is possible that Clerk was able to supply French furniture that was equivalent or superior in quality and style to 'French' fashions available in London at cheaper rates, but there remains an impression thatClerk's adventure in retailing was intended to promote his money-lending

[86] W. Lithgow, *Scotlands Welcome to King Charles* (Edinburgh, 1633), sig. B2v.

[87] NRAS 217 box 5 no.1, fol.19.

amongst a male clientele. His letters show that he was able to influence taste and fashion by providing novel goods and discussing them with his aristocratic clients, exhibiting a mercantile personality that cannot be identified in any Scottish predecessor. Taste, fashion and salesmanship were not new, but Clerk worked his advantage in a new climate.

Chapter 3 Hall furnishings in the latter sixteenth-century

3:1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the function and furnishing of the hall in the light of inventory evidence. For the analysis of other room spaces and whole houses, because of their varying focus and coverage, sixteenth-century inventories give inconsistent pictures of furnishings and possessions. However, descriptions of hall furnishings in late sixteenth-century inventories show a strong conformityincluding similar types of objects. This chapter identifies five significant categories of hall furnishings. Few clear expressions of attitudes to hall culture from sixteenth-century Scotland have come down to us, but the uniformity seen in these inventories is a testament to its vitality as an institution and essential component of the house magnificent.Although, the actual appearance, texture and quality of hall furnishings probably varied and changed over the period but inventories do not usually give good enough indications of more subtle changes.

Halls and their equipment had a long pedigree through medieval domestic and monastic buildings to antiquity. The aim of this chapter is to explore the central importance of the hall in the house and the priority given to its functions. The hall was used for dining and the entertainment of guests and was therefore the most important room, a venue for demonstrations of noble status whereby reputations for generosity could be built. Society depended on ties of allegiance and kinship which connected lesser men to royal government provided by court council and parliament. By maintaining house and hall nobles and lairds advertised their availability to form vertical connections in society. Principles of reciprocal entertainment ensured equivalence and uniformity in furnishing. Owners of halls perhaps competed in the provision of increasing quality of the same kind of experience using a similar toolkit.The halls of urban elites such as wealthy merchants also share in aspects of this conformity.

It may be useful to regard the sixteenth-century tower house or lodging primarily as a compact hall block which also contained lodgings, to be aptly defined as a ‘hall-centred building’. In every one of these blocks a broad spiral stair from the main door leads straight into the hall. Some halls were built as the upper floor of two storey ranges adjacent to a tower. Similarly, in quadrangular courtyard layouts a courtyard stair leads into the hall, as in the fourteenth century Chancellor’s Hall at Crichton Castle and the Lion Chamber at

Linlithgow Palace. This arrangement was typical in France in the middle ages.[1]There were far fewer ground-floor halls in Scotland than in England; almost all halls were on the first floor, except those in royal courtyard houses, likeHolyrood or Stirling. Some monastic refectories were also on the first floor and Richard Fawcett attributes this fashion in Scotland to a parallel with domestic arrangement.[2]For Michael Thompson the freestanding English hall was the peculiarity, a deviation from continental practice, which he attributed to local revivalism of early medieval practice based on Arthurian romance.[3] Ireland was different again, the builders of many western Irish tower houses, like the English, cherished the custom of a central open fire and so the hall was placed on the top storey.[4] These national differences in architecture are an indicator that accommodating hall custom was a determining factor in the design of the whole building.

Previous writers have characterised the hall as sparsely furnished. However, the nature of the furnishings and similar layouts point to a usage regulated by convention, ritual and custom, and such comments may reflect comparison with levels of furnishings in later drawing chambers with classes of goods unknown in the sixteenth-century. Warrack described the layout of the hall at dinner with high table and two tables for guests, perhaps as much influenced by illustrations than by inventory evidence, and asked ‘why is the hall so scantily furnished?’. His answer (which seems evasive) was that in the early years of the sixteenth century furniture was not made for display and most was fabricated locally of cheap fir.[5]However, later inventories do not find more pieces and types of furniture in halls (and when halls were abandoned sometimes less). The answer seems to be that the equipmentof halls was adequate for the formal rituals of dining and other assemblies that took place there.

During meals the wooden furniture of the hall was dressed with linen cloths, plate useful and decorative was displayed and servants produced dishes of food in formal rituals. Inventories list the tablecloths, napery, plates and trenchers used in the hall, which were stored in the pantry or nearby. In many houses seigneurial courts appear to have convened in the hall.Although it is often stated following hints in etiquette literature, that tables were

[1] Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, 30.

[2] R. Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture 1371-1560* (Edinburgh, 1994), 116, 240, 266-7.

[3] Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, 8-9, 193-4.

[4] Sherlock, ‘The Evolution of the Irish Tower House’, 115-140.

[5] Warrack, *Domestic Life in Scotland*, 13-19.

regularly dismantled to clear the space, inventories show that by the sixteenth-century most Scottish halls were not furnished with boards on trestles, which could be easily removed, but with more solid tables. It is unclear if trestle tables had ever been widely used in Scottish halls, or whether, as in England, they became less common in the later middle ages.[6]It may be that English conduct literature describing the role of the marshal and groom in taking care of boards, trestles, and hall hangings refers particularly to arrival at new residences rather than permanently occupied houses.[7]

In England the lord usually dined in another room by the later sixteenth century and the hall was used less often or only by household servants. Inventories show that in Scotland the high table dining culture was maintained for longer and 'hall-centred' buildings continued to be built. There is however evidence for dining in bedchamber suites. Cupboards, tables and seats for dining are found in the bedchambers and so it is clear that withdrawal from the hall was already common in Scotland, though its formal furnishing remained.Apart from household books recording expenditure on food, other primary sources describing hall activity are rare. Descriptions of hall life have often been based on English sources. The vocabulary used for hall furnishings in Scotland was similar to English, with someFrench borrowings, as described below. However, Scottish customs and artefacts are likely to have differed, much as the architectural expression of the hall was quite different to that in England or Ireland.

Essential features of the Scottish hall in the late sixteenth century identified here from inventories include provision for about forty diners, the distinction between the high table and other tables, and special lighting. Fourteen inventories with useful descriptions of hall furnishings between 1559 and 1627 were used in this study.[8]

[6] C. McKean, *Scottish Chateau*, 67: Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, 145, 152-3.

[7] F. Furnivall, *Manners and meals in olden time* (London, 1867), 311.

[8] NRS CS7/20 f.105-110, Newton; A. Hutcheson, *Agnes Betoun*, *PSAS*, May 14 (1917), 223-231: NRS GD 96/124, Braal: N. Campbell, 'The Castle Campbell Inventory' *Scottish Historical Review*, vol.10 no.39 (April 1913), 299-315: J. Bain ed., *Records of the burgh of Prestwick in the sheriffdom of Ayr 1470-1582* (Glasgow, 1834), 137: NLS MS.5114 Brechin Castle: NRS GD 188/2/9/1, see, D. Gallagher in J. Lewis, D. Pringle, R. Ceron-Cerrasco, *Spynie Palace and the bishops of Moray: history, architecture and archaeology* (SAS, 2002), 184-191: Fraser, *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. 2, 288-292: *Fraser Papers*, 229.

3:2 Essentials of Hall furnishing

Hall furnishings were a set of equipment specially adapted for specific requirements. As it appears in inventories, it can be discussed in five groups; the high table; the other tables and their seating; the cup-board and its silver plate; lighting; and display of weapons. These commonly found artefacts functioned as metaphors for community and society, and hall entertainment mirrored and constructed society.The summary of the hall furnishings at Inchinnan in 1570 was typically brief; 'in the hall ij burdis, furnist with formis, ane grit comptour, ane hart horn, ane bwrd with ij kaistis that stuid befoir the fyir, ane forme'.[9] This includes all the usual and required items except the textile hangings. The great 'comptour' at Inchinnan was the cupboard where plate was displayed; the board with two 'kaistis' (chests) by the fire was the high table.

Family members and guests of rank would sit at a high table placed at one end of the hall. This was the 'hie buird', a phrase in use in England in time of Henry VII.[10]In the sixteenth century the area at the top end of the hall was called the dais, perhaps derived from the Latin 'discus' meaning a round platter. In Burgundian custom the high table could be higher than others and raised on steps and the word came to denote the raised floor or stage that might accentuate the table's status. These platforms were probably uncommon in Scotland.[11]At Kellie and Balmaddy in 1562 the high tables were called the 'dais-boards'.[12]

In the poem *King Hart* written c. 1500, the King eats at the dais, and later he stands before the Queen while she sits and dines in his place in 'mid the deiss'.[13] The 'mid' or mid-board position in the poem means the seating position in the middle of the high table with guests to left and right. King Hart expresses his subordination to the queen by standing opposite her mid-board position.The prose diary *Diurnal of Occurents* describes Queen Mary at the baptism at Stirling in 1566 – 'at ane tabill sat the Quenis majestie at mydburd' – between the French and English ambassadors while the ambassador of Savoy sat at the table-end.[14]Diners who were not accorded a place at the high table sat at other tables in the body of the hall.

[9] Fraser, *Lennox Muniments*, vol. 2, 76.

[10] Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, 228, coronation of Elizabeth of York, 1488.

[11] Eames, 'Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands', 254.

[12] A. Hutcheson, 'Agnes Betoun', *PSAS*, May 14 (1917), 223-231.

[13] W. Craigie, *Maitland Folio*, vol.1 (Edinburgh, 1919), 254-284.

[14]*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 104.

Thedinersat these tables were probably seated according to the principle that they should be able to see their lord, the purpose of commensal dining.[15]

The assumption that the lord sat on an individual throne-like chair while all others were on benches is contradicted in some inventories. The main seat at Yester Castle before 1579 was a small form.[16]At Newton in 1559 the high table had two long forms.[17]At Castle Campbell in 1595 there was a 'grit seatt at the heid of the buird', which may have been a settle or throne-like chair.[18]

The high boardcould be an elaborate permanent construction unlike the simple table top and trestles often seen in fifteenth-century manuscript illuminations. High boardscould incorporate storage furniture and a wooden canopy attached to the wall behind. At Newton the hall furniture was described at unusual length during a legal dispute in 1559:

> In the hall, ane hie buird sett in a creddil of thrie almereis underneath the samyn of carvit and rasit werk , with twa greit forms of burdwork conforming thairto, uthir thrie syde buirds of thik planks of aik, with six fourmes of aik baith the said thrie boards togidder thairwith a cupboard of eistland tymmer, richly carvit and decorated in the maist courtlie manner, and weill bandit, double-lockit and keyit with fine metalwork, price of all the said tymmer work, ourheid £80.[19]

This high table was a permanent structure incorporating three decoratedstorage cupboards with a cradle structure supporting the table top. An inventory of 1587 mentions that the cupboard was fixed to the wall and there was a wooden canopy over the high table.[20] Thisdescription of Newton is unusual in its detail but there is no reason to suppose that elaborate woodwork was rare.

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[15] E. Lamond, *Walter of Henley; Bishop Grosseteste's Rules* (London, 1890), 137: Furnivall, *Babees Book*, (London, 868) , 329.

[16] NRS GD110/1324.

[17] NRS CS7/20, fol. 107r.

[18] Campbell, 'Castle Campbell Inventory', 299-315.

[19] NRS CS7/20 f.109r: R. Mackenzie, *A Scottish Renaissance Household* (Ayr, 1990).

[20] Bain, *Records of the burgh of Prestwick*, 137.

The high table wasaccessorised by paintings and hangings behind, or furnished with a high back board and wooden canopy. Brechin castle had four 'paintit brods hinging on the baksyd of the burd' in 1627.[21] There was a 'fair painted brod' above the high table at Calder in 1566.At Darnaway there were four pieces of tapestry which cost £400.[22]Some like Yester had painted cloths, an alternative to tapestry not necessarily regarded as an inferior substitute.[23]Inventory descriptions of hangings can be informative about the layout of the furniture and architectural detail. One important example is in a 1519 inventory of the bishop's palace at Aberdeen;

> Item abuif the hie buird the northt buird and abuif the southt buird betwixt the wyndois hingin with ald sayis of paillis reid blew and yallowe.[24]

The woollen cloth hangings were hung only behind the tables, and not on other areas. Here, the hall cloth was not hung around the whole room but selectively to honour those seated at the three tables. This may have been usual practice. The same cloth was used to hang the adjacent Great Chamber. The use of the same cloth throughout may suggest that all the diners here were of a sufficient dignity. There is an implication that the position of the tables within the hall was fixed.

It is often assumed that hall tables were regularly dismantled; fifteenth-century English courtesy books appear to direct the stewards to take away tables after dining to allow the space to be free for other uses. For ease of removal medieval table tops rested on trestles which could be freestanding or linked together with pegged stretcher bars. Manytables depicted in manuscript illuminations are of this type. However, few sixteenth-century Scottish inventories mention easily disassembled boards and trestles. Two examples are the hall at the bishop's palace in Aberdeen with 'trests and forms'; and at Stirling Castle in 1585

[21] NLS Ms.5114, f.1-5.

[22] Anon, 'Inventory of Heritable Goods Extracted from Darnaway Castle', *Scottish Notes & Queries*, vol. 9 (1896), 115-7.

[23] NRS GD110/1324: J. Robertson, *Inventairesde la Royne Descosse* (Edinburgh 1863), 179-187: N. Costaras, C. Young ed.,*Setting the Scene: European Painted Cloths 1400-2000* (Archetype, 2000).

[24]*Registrum Aberdonsensis*, ii, 175-6.

in the palace there was ‘ane eating board with the trests thereof’.[25]Otherwise the majority of tables in halls sound immobile.

Diners in the body of the hall were placed at ‘syd-boards’, the usual name for a hall dining table in Scotland. The term side boardfor a hall dining table was used in England, appearing in some wills, and an account of the reception of Katherine of Aragon describes Prince Arthur at a side board at Westminster.[26] Other fifteenth-century English accounts of feasts call the dining table for subordinates in the hall a ‘side table’. These side-boards have rarely been noticed by commentators, apart from Warrack, who supposed that ‘less important members of the household are seated at side tables, and they too have their backs to the wall, so that the opposite side of each table is left free for service from the middle of the room.’[27]Side-board tables may have been placed against the walls at the side of the room, and also in some early contexts people had sat on one side only.[28] They were placed perpendicularly to the high board, side-on. Possibly side referred only to their subordinate role to the high table.

Many side-board tables are described with joined frames called cradles or branders, (see figs. 3:1 & 3:2).[29]In Scots the brander was a gridiron, so a cage-like structure was meant. There were ‘three branderit burdis with thrie lytill formes’ at Braal in 1572, and ‘three stand burdis sett on brandirs with thair furmes’ at Dumbarton Castle in 1579.[30] Table tops were listed separately with their branders; ‘ane hall burd of wynscott with the brander of aik’ and ‘tway syd burdis with branderingis’, but this does not imply that the tables were regularly taken apart, since if the cradles did not collapse, there would be no space saving advantage.

[25]*Registrum Aberdensis*, ii, 176: HMC, *9th report & appendix* (1883), p.192b.

[26] S. George ed., *Bristol Probate Inventories, 1542-1650* (Bristol 2002), 53, 164: *Wills & inventories*, vol. 1 (Surtees Society 1835), 271, (see p.210 for another side board): Leland, *Collectanea*, v, 363.

[27] Warrack, *Domestic Life in Scotland*, 13-4.

[28] Eames, ‘Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands’, 218-220.

[29]*Register of the Great Seal*, vol.4, no.75: *Protocol Book of Mr Gilbert Grote* (Edinburgh, SRS, 1914), p.12 no.60.

[30]*Reg. Privy Council.* III. 320: NRS GD 96/124: *Stirling of Keir*, 293.

Fig. 3:1A rare depiction of tables with 'branders' and dornick cloths, c. 1468 (BNF).[31]

Although examples of fixed seating in monastic refectories suggest that seating was on one side, the wall side, Scottish inventories show that seating on both sides of the side-table was usual. Often two forms were provided for each table. Many side boards had fixed benches, often on both sides. Fixed benches are not compatible with trestles and easy removal. These tables presumably bore some resemblance to modern picnic tables used today. Those at Newton in 1588 and Castle Campbell in 1595 had benches fixed on one or both sides.[32] In 1562, the Lord Erskine's hall (later Regent Moray) was furnished with 'four syd buirdis of fir fixit with furmes in lyk maner'.[33] One was made for the Eglinton lodging in Edinburgh in 1565; 'ane syde furnist buird with its trestes & formes in ilk syde.'[34] The 1587 inventory of Newton calls the tables 'lang sait burdis with forms affixit on thair sydes.' At Spynie Palace in 1607, the hall tables were described as 'tua syde buirdis with the forms fixt thairto'. The latest reference to side-boards, at Brechin Castle in 1627, has an example with two fixed forms of oak, the other with one fixed form of oak on the 'baksyd' with a fir form on the 'foursyd'.[35] The description probably relates to the fixed position of the table relative to the wall, sitting back to the wall being the best position. More than ten inventories from the latter

[31] 'Histoire de Regnauld de Montaban', Paris, BnF, Arsenal, ms. 5073 f. 107v.

[32] Bain, *Records of the burgh of Prestwick*, 137: Campbell, 'Castle Campbell Inventory', 299-315.

[33] *HMC 6th report, Earl of Moray* (1877), 648.

[34] NAS GD3/6/36 item 1: Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, vol.2, 197: *Spynie Palace*, 184.

[35] NLS MS.5114.

sixteenth century have these 'side-board tables,' and no other kind of hall table.[36] Although written evidence for these tables is overwhelming no illustrations of the type with fixed seats from any part of Europe have been found, though some English parish rooms have council tables with fixed seats.[37]

It may be helpful to think of the side-board table as being 'other than the high-board' rather than a definite type. The term was used similarly in England, the fifteenth-century*Boke of Nurture* instructs how the 'syde tabillis' should be covered after the cup-board and before the principal table.[38] The order of placing the cloths reinforced the message of the spatial arrangement, the high table cloth placed last. Several Scottish inventories list three hall side-boards. This odd number may point to the usual arrangement of tables in the hall, differing from the arrangement of two rows of tables preferred by illustrators. It seems clear that there were often three rows of side tables, the one in the middle sometimes called a mid-board. This arrangement was recorded in England. Lord Bothwell as ambassador to Henry VII sat at the top of a middle table on the feast of St George in 1489. At the lower ends of the three tables guests of lower status sat on both sides of the table.[39] At the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor the two halls at Holyroodhouse had three rows of tables and a top table. The English herald noted that the king and queen dined separately in 'great chambers', the queen's with four tables, in the king's chamber one.[40]

A 'by-board' was an equivalent term for side-board, as a name for tables in a hall other than the high board. At Calder in 1566 there was a high board, three by-boards with forms and a 'myd-burd.'[41]The mid-board table at Calder was 'standand in the myddis of the hall' with two forms. Lord Lindsay of the Byres had a myd-board in 1503.[42] The mid-board was probably intended for the middle of a hall and was broad enough for dining on both sides.At

[36] Newton 1559 & 1588; Agnes Beaton 1562; Calder 1566; Banff & Auchterhouse 1580; Tantallon 1592; Castle Campbell 1595; Balloch 1605.

[37] M. Body, 'Landkey St Paul', *Regional Furniture Society Newsletter*, no. 63 (Autumn 2015), 15-17, 21 and Sampford Courtenay.

[38] Furnivall, *Boke of Nurture & Babees Book*, 367.

[39] Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, 237, 240.

[40] Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, 296.

[41]*Protocol Book Thomas Johnsoun*, 100.

[42]*Acts of the Lords of Council*, 283-284.

Darnaway in 1593 napkinsfor the by-boards were half the cost of those used at the high table.[43] In whatever way the tables were arranged we should assume that there was also hierarchy in service and status of diners. In inventories this is best seen in the quality of napkins and cloths, and there were usually at least three grades, discussed below. Accounts of English entertainments show that the best places on side- mid- and by- tables were those nearest the high table.[44] Perhaps the top of the mid-table was the best inferior position.

There are a few references to other kinds of tables in halls. One type was the 'compter' a name used for various types including the merchant's counter, and a table found in bedchambers, but in halls used as cupboard or high table.[45]Adam Colquhoun, Parson of Stobo used a double Flanders 'comptar' in the hall as the high table in his Glasgow lodging.[46]At the Byres in 1615 there was a small table for cloaks and Castle Campbell had a service table in 1595.[47]Tables provided for serving oysters in the seventeenth century were used in other reception rooms.

There were four main household functions or offices to serve meals in the hall. These services, the kitchen, pantry (storage of equipment, originally provision of bread) and larder (food storage) were usually located nearby in the vaults beneath the hall. Inventories frequently list the equipment of the larder, pantry and kitchen. Foodstuffs stored were less regularly noted. The office for drinks was called the 'buttery' in England and 'buitlar' in Scots. These are rare words and do not appear ininventories, though there were ale and wine cellars in vaults below halls. Inventories also detail the contents of the brewhouse. James IV provided the English arrangement of buttery, pantry, and kitchen, under canvas for Margaret Tudor at Lamberton in 1502 in pavilions adjacent to the tent that served as a hall.[48]

Access to the hall from these offices could be at the end of the hall opposite the high table, an arrangement common in England where a so-called 'screen's passage' masked the service

[43] 'Inventory of Heritable Goods Extracted from Darnaway Castle', 115-7.

[44] Leland, *Collectanea*, iv, 237, 240.

[45] Warrack, *Domestic Life*, 25-6.

[46] McRoberts, 'Manse of Stobo', 23.

[47] Fraser, *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. 2, 288-292: Campbell, 'Castle Campbell Inventory', 299-315.

[48] Leland, *Collectanea*, 281.

end. It has been suggested that the service end plan for English halls was related to the standard plans of monastery buildings.[49]Elements of the arrangement can be seen in some Scottish houses, at Kirkwall Palace or at Muness on Unst built in 1598, where a staircase at the service end descends to the wine cellar, or at Craigievar where anoak screen of the 1620s conceals the entrance and a stair from the kitchen. However in many lodgings this was not achieved (particularly in many so-called 'L' plan castles without a service stair) with guest and service access at the same end. Service from the 'low end' was probably not essential to Scottish custom, and may have been dispensed with as an unnecessary extra building cost.

John Taylor, the water-poet, gave a picture of a 'plaine home-spunne fellow' a blue-bonnet laird beyond Forth who entertains thirty or forty servants in hall every day.[50]This is about the scale of the household dining indicated by the equipment seen in aristocratic inventories. The best evidence for numbers may be from the seating and the numbers of plates. (No estimate from household food expenses has been attempted here.) The figures suggest that the hall of a lord or earl seated around forty to fifty, and that lower servants may have eaten elsewhere.As sixteenth-century halls were furnished with benches, called forms, estimating numbers is not simply a matter of counting chairs. There were usually three dining tables, (side-boards), and a high table. The size of these can be estimated by the lengths of tablecloths. The side-board cloths at Newton in Ayrshire were six ells (5.6m) long. The high table cloth was shorter at five ells long, and was six quarter ells broad (1.4m). A cloth for the king's table in 1500 was seven ells long (6.6 m).[51] A cloth for the high table in Randolph's Hall at Darnaway Castle was eight ells long (7.5m).[52] Darnaway has the largest hall in Scotland, dating from the late fourteenth century, with a width of 11m perhaps nearly twice the length of the high table.

Allowing for overhang of the cloths at the ends, the largest tables were probably not much more than six ells in length, just under six metres. Such a table could sit about ten diners on one side. The length is compatible with the largest surviving fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tables; at Haddon Hall 5m, at the Rathaus of Lüneberg 6.8m, and at Bruges, in the Onze Lieve Vrouwe Museum, 8.4m.[53] If six people sat in comfort at the high table, and perhaps ten

[49] Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, 194.

[50] P. Hume Brown, *Early Travels in Scotland*, 127-8.

[51] Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 129, 141, 156, 282: *TA*, ii, 28.

[52] Anon, 'Inventory of Heritable Goods Extracted from Darnaway Castle', 115-7.

[53] M. Biddle, *King Arthur's Round Table* (Boydell & Brewer, 2000), 42.

at a side of three side-board tables, the number of guests is thirty six. If people were seated at both sides of the side tables (as seems likely) the maximum is nearer seventy. Looking at the number of plates gives a similar estimate. A Darnaway inventory notes forty eight pewter plates for diners at the high table and the 'by buirdis' in hall, and seventy two plates for desert.[54]The number of places probably lay somewhere between these two figures. The numbers of pewter plates in most inventories are not always as straightforward, lumping together plates, dishes and saucers, but the figure of four dozen does occur in other lists.

According to estimates, in England the average number of household members in a gentle or knightly household peaked at around seventy in 1500, and declined to forty by 1600. The household of a bishop or peer had twice as many members. Not all of these would have eaten in the hall.[55] Nevertheless, the evidence of the hall dining equipment in the Scottish inventories suggests that noble households dining in hall were not much larger English knight's households, even at Darnaway where the huge medieval hall seems not have been fully used.

The forty eight Flanders pewter plates at Darnaway were particularly specified for the tables in the hall, possibly suggesting that some people of lower status ate elsewhere, possibly using wooden plates. Some evidence is found in the custom of rests and lettermeat. In the royal court remainders of dishes of food brought from the kitchen and served to an upper table were passed to the tables those of lower status. The remainder was called a rest. For instance, in 1590 those who held the offices of Master Almoner, Sewar, Cupper, and Carver, were to sit together and eat the remainder, the rest, of the dishes served to the king. Five lesser officers were appointed as waiters on this table, and they were to dine in turn on its rests.[56] Food remainder passed to servants was called latter-meat, and such servants eat at a lattermeat table. The earl of Mar provided linen tablecloths of lesser quality for the 'syid burd and lattirmeitt' in 1572.[57]Where servants dined in another room this was sometimes called a

[54] Anon, 'Inventory of Heritable Goods Extracted from Darnaway Castle', *Scottish Notes & Queries*, vol. 9 (1896), 115-7.

[55] Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, 113-4.

[56] Bapst, *Marriage of James VI*, 31-2.

[57] HMC *Mar & Kellie* 2, 31.

lattermeat hall or chamber, or common hall, and the existence of such rooms demonstrates that the whole household did not dine together in hall.[58]

Although the word cupboard now means any kind of storage compartment with a door, in the sixteenth century cup-board was used in England and Scotland in a more restricted sense, for the display of plate in the hall on furniture whose essential feature was a shelf.[59] A variant term was vessel-board. The inventory of Adam Colquhoun parson of Stobo in 1542 describes this purpose; 'ane cop burde of eistland burd carvit werk, quhare the silver weschell stude.'[60]The original function of the cup-board was ewery, the service of drinks to important guests. The word cupboard was sometimes used for the vessels rather than the furniture; 'a rich cupboard' meant the plate or glassware. It is unclear whether many of the silver cupboard vessels and plates displayed were actually used. Some diners drinking in hall used wooden mugs, like the fourteen 'trene quart stoupis' stored in the pantry at Balloch, and these lesser vessels presumably were used apart from the glamourous cupboard ritual.[61]

George Gordon, 4thEarl of Huntly had a cupboard of presumably Venetian glass which Mary Queen of Scots confiscated in November 1562. The glass was shipped from Huntly Castle to Edinburgh and was still kept in a chest at Edinburgh Castle in 1578.[62]James IV had a cup-board of glassware.[63] John Lesley has a story about James Stewart, Earl of Moray (d.1544) having a cupboard of glass deliberately broken in 1543 to impress a Venetian diplomat with Scottish magnificence.[64] The story seems intended to illustrate the unrealised potential of the Earl of Moray as a diplomat, and is similar in character to Pitscottie's story of John Stewart, 3rdEarl of Atholl's hunting palace, which also commemorates an earl who died young.

[58] C. McKean, 'The laird and his guests: The implications of offering hospitality in the Scottish Renaissance country seat', *Architectural Heritage*, 13 (Nov. 2002), 1-19: *Cawdor*, 419.

[59] Eames, 'Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands', 55.

[60] NRS RD1, vol.1 part 1 fol.139v-141v: McRoberts, 'Manse of Stobo', 22-3.

[61] Innes, *Black Book Taymouth*, 334.

[62] Robertson, *Inventaires*, 54-56.

[63] *TA*, ii, 345, 'to Sir Cuthbert Kerris man that brocht hame the copburd of glas'.

[64] W. Cody ed., *John Leslie Historie of Scotland translated by Father Dalrymple*, vol.2 (Edimburgh, 1895), 276: Thomson ed., *History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1830), 179.

The French words for the cup-board, *dressoir* or *buffet* were rarely used in Scotland, except perhaps where a particular French influence was operating. A collection of silver vessels and the piece of furniture it stood on was called a 'buffet' in 1578 at Boghall Castle.[65] The Fleming family had recent French connections. Mark Ker had a buffet at Prestongrange which had been a gift from the Frenchman Esme Stewart Duke of Lennox, who died in 1583 and was perhaps a French piece.[66] As in England chairs were called 'buffet stools' throughout this period, but any link between this usage and the buffet as a cup-board remains obscure. The artillerymen at Edinburgh castle in 1567 had 'ane dressourie for setting of stoupes'.[67] This could reflect the French background of the leading gunners. In the 1590s the Edinburgh merchant John MacMoran had a walnut 'dresser copbuird' and two dresser cloths.[68] Judging by its name and the relatively unusual timber, this was a French import. In French a dressoir can also be the kitchen table where food was dressed.[69]Dressing boards regularly appear in kitchen spaces in England and Scotland and were used for preparation of food dishes.[70] The word 'dressory' was used for kitchen spaces in the Scottish royal palaces in the 1530s.

At the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor in 1503, John Young, Somerset Herald, noted that James IV had his dinner served from a dresser. Something about this cup-board or dresser differed from English custom and caught his notice as a 'riche dressor after the guyse of the countre'.[71] The difference could have been in its degree of richness in terms of its vessels, or the manner in which it was used. Young's text does not otherwise appear to snipe at Margaret's reception, so perhaps the Scottish cupboard was distinctive in its form.
In Italian and late medieval Franco-Burgundian custom buffets had shelves for the display of plate, and the number of shelvesindicated rank.[72] Multiple cupboard cloths listed were possiblyfor shelves. At Glamis in 1648 the cupboard had five degrees.Two cupboards with

[65]*DOST* 'buffat': W. Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming* (1863), 331-4.

[66] Sanderson, *Kindly Place*, 93.

[67] NRS E96/2 pp. 6-7: Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 173-175: HMC 60, *Mar & Kellie supplement*, (1930), 21-27.

[68]*Fraser Papers*, (SHS, 1924), 229.

[69] Eames, *Medieval Furniture*, 63-4.

[70]*Accounts Masters of Work*, vol. 1 (1957): *HMC 6th report*, 648: Eames, 'Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands', 64-65.

[71] Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. 4, 295.

[72] Eames, 'Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands', 56-7: Thornton, *Italian Renaissance Interior*, 207.

three shelves were recorded in 1565. Another cupboard in an undated sixteenth-century inventory was dismantled, 'wantand the degreis'.[73] However, there is no direct Scottish evidence linking the number of shelves and rank. The decoration of cup-boards was occasionally recorded, that at Newton in 1559 was of 'carvit and raisit werk of the maist courtlie manner', and fixed to the wall.[74] Agnes Beaton's inventory records an almery and cup-boardcombined at Kellie as a cup-almery. The almery storage space was probably used to keep napery; the type was elsewhere called a press-almery or simply a press.

The presence of a cupboard in a bedchamber, with a table and chairs, is an indicator that food was served there. These rooms are often the most important bedchambers, including the chambers of dais, bedchambers next to the hall.

Fig. 3:2 *Dornick* linen cloths on tables with *branders* rather than trestles, (BNF).[75]

[73]NRS NP1/26, NP1/35, *Prot. Bk. J. Scott* 24 b, 'ane cope burd vith thre greis' (*DOST*): J. Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces* (East Linton, 1999), 174: NRS GD150/2714 Morton papers: Glamis Mss. P639/90 I owe this reference to Charles Wemyss.

[74] NRS CS7/20 f.109r., hall furniture at Newton 1559.

[75] Histoire de Regnauld de Montaban, Paris, BnF, Arsenal, ms. 5073 fol. 148, Bruges 1468-70, fol. 311.

A variety of linen cloths were used in the hall during dining, these were supplied in several qualities according to the status of diners. Linen was either kept in the pantry or in the hall.The main types of cloths named were; table napkins or serviettes, drinking serviettes, towels (long and square), washing towels, water cloths, and washing cloths. Variousqualities of linen emphasised hierarchy, the most expensive and decorated types selected for use at the high table. Most prestigious was the figured linencalled dornick in Scotland, after the Flemish name of Tournai, Doornik. Later this type became known as damask in accordance with English usage. Other diners used lesser quality dornick, some of which was made in Scotland. Scottish inventories do not further elaborate on the patterns of dornick or damask, except in the case of knotted dornick in 1580, apparently with a knotwork pattern, (see figs. 3:1 & 3:2).[76]Some simple figured linen was later called diaper following English usage. Third-class diners used plain linens and sometimes a fabric called harden, which was more like canvas, otherwise used for sacks and packing.

The cloths were a key part of rituals of washing and serving drinks and food. However sources giving particulars of Scottish usage are lacking. English sixteenth-century courtesy books describe long towels used to cover the tables after meals.[77] The same custom is indicated in the inventory of Braal where the Master of Caithness had ‘ane towel of dornick for the hie bourd’ in 1572.[78] In 1648 the number of linen table cloths in the pantry at Floors was matched by the number of long towels.[79] Perhaps the use of table linen was similar in England and Scotland.

A linen pecking ordercan be seen in the Earl of Mar’s pantry in 1572. The numbers of cloths roughly reflect usage as there are many more inexpensive cloths. This would not always be the case, as the stock of cloths would depend on recent purchases, sometimes bought in long lengths called wobs. Ready-made linen could be bought in a set called a stand with table cloth towels and napkins. Generally, there were fewer of the most prestigious cloths which were reserved for the lord’s use.

[76] NRS GD110/1324, Yester, ‘ane broad boardclaith of Flanderis knottit dornick’.

[77] D. Mitchell, ‘British Taste in Table Linen’, *Textile History*, 20.1 (1989), 49-77, 55: H. Rhodes, *Boke of Nurtur* (London, 1568).

[78] NRS GD 96/124.

[79] NRS RH13/11, Floors 1648.

Table 3:1 Linen in the pantry of the Earl of Mar, 1572.[80]			
number	type	fabric	specified detail
4	napkins	dornick	of damask champ
12	napkins	dornick	plain
128	napkins	linen	
2	board cloths	dornick	of damask champ
2	board cloths	Scottish dornick	
3	board cloths	linen	for side board and latter-meit
1	cup-board cloth	French dornick	
3	cup-board cloth	linen	
2	washing cloth	dornick	of damask champ
24	washing cloth	linen	
1	board cloth	green	

The best quality was reserved for the lord himself, thus there were four napkins of dornick woven with a damask field or champ. With these were two board-cloths and a matching pair of washing towels for use in the hall. The diners washed their hands at their places with a jug and basin brought by a servant, as was the custom described in England in the *Boke of Nurtur*.[81] There were two matching board cloths. Inferior dornick cloth and plain linen for lesser guests were provided in much greater number. Other sixteenth-century inventories follow this pattern, with only a small stock of the prestigious damask fielded dornick.[82]

This use of linen in the hall does not seem to differ from the picture provided by English evidence, except that in England the word dornick was more often used for imported woollen cloths for hangings or table covers.[83] In England simple patterned linens were called diaper, and distinguished from damask linens, this separation between the categories of 'diaper' and 'damask' hardly occurs in Scots until the seventeenth century. In France too the word 'diaper' was not used, and the best qualities were 'de Tournai' or 'de Venise.'[84] In Scotland

[80] HMC 60, *Mar and Kellie supplement*, (1930), 30-32.

[81] Hugh Rhodes, *The boke of nurture for men, seruauntes, and children* (London, 1570).

[82] W. Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming* (1863), 331-4: NRS GD110/1324, Yester.

[83] *Ludlow Churchwarden's Accounts*, (Camden Society, 1869), 73, 'dornyx albe'.

[84] Mitchell, *British taste in table linen*, 49, 52.

the equivalent fabrics, imported from northern Europe were all called dornick. By the 1590s there are instances of 'dornick damask' and 'diaper dornick' and the English terms become more frequent in seventeenth century when Anglicized vocabulary for household furnishings was adopted in many aristocratic households in Scotland.[85]

Most inventories include a green board cloth for the hall. Some, perhaps most were made of woollen London broadcloth.[86] These green cloths were for the high board only, not the side or by-boards in the hall. Other smaller tables, the 'comptar', used in high status bedchambers, could be provided with green cloths. At Balloch the green cloth for the high table was called a counter cloth.[87]Warrack and Sanderson suggest these cloths were used under linen boardcloths, citing lines in the anonymous*Frieris of Berwick*: 'The burde scho cuverit with clath of costly greyne, Hir napry aboif wes woundir weill besene'.[88]As green cloths were expensive they were likely to have served a special function. Their use for the *comptar* table may reflect medieval accounting practice, much like the green baize cloth used with roulette wheels today. These green cloths were purchased for use in burgh tolbooths.[89] These associations suggest that the green cloth in origin related to the hall as a feudal court and administrative centre. The high table was transformed into the administrative and legal sphere by its dressing with green cloth.

Means of lighting the home are not conspicuous in sixteenth-century inventories and notes of candlesticks in rooms are rare. Some records mention lighting materials in the charge of a porter or butler, who might bring light to a room or stair. The hall however was usually equipped with chandeliers or 'hart horns' andthese chandeliers are almost always onlylisted in the hall and at most one other best chamber. As a public space the hall was ostentatiously lit by chandeliers when such lighting was perhaps a luxury only seen elsewhere in churches. Chandeliers must have been lowered by a cord for lighting which may have been a dramatized and ritualized event. The chandelier was included in Sir Thomas Hope's list of heirship goods as, 'an hanging candlestick with flowers commonly hung in the midst of the

[85]*Fraser Papers*, 229: *Exch. Rolls, v*ol. 22, 153. See Chapter Five below for Anglicization.

[86] Anon, 'Inventory of Heritable Goods Extracted from Darnaway Castle', 115-7: Warrack, *Domestic Life in Scotland*, 19-20.

[87] Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth*, 344.

[88] Sanderson, *Kindly Place*, 88: Warrack, *Domestic Life*, 19-20.

[89] G. Pryde ed., *Ayr Burgh Accounts* (Edinburgh 1937), 113.

hall'.The inclusion of the chandelier and its location is an archaising feature of Thomas Hope's list, and reflects its medieval origin, although most of the other objects were less remarkable.[90]

At Calder in 1566 there were three 'treyne chanlaris hinging in the hall with flowers of white iron'.[91] The flowers were the cups or nozzles for holding the candles arranged on the wooden frame. Often, instead of a wooden structure, stags' antlers were used, which were made into circlets and hung with chains from a suspension point, as at Newton in 1559, where the hall was lit by two painted hart-horn chandeliers;

> tua greit hart hornis garneist with four candilstikkis with four elnis lang chenzeis of irne fra the croune with knappis all weill laid over with reid and uther fyne colloris.[92]

Each may have been made from two antlers or more. In other inventories 'hart horn', 'hart horn herse', 'hart heid', or 'hanging hart horn' means such a chandelier.[93] Chandeliers made of brass or tin were used in best chambers, the hart horn chandeliers were only used in halls. Such chandeliers may have been akin to German, Swiss and Netherlandish antler chandeliers embellished with polychrome figures and heraldry, the *leuchterweibchen* or *lüsterweibchen*, though nothing more elaborate than the painted decoration at Newton was recorded. Possibly elaboration of these chandeliers might have reflected the status of the house.

The antler chandelier may originally have represented lordship and authority in these halls, by the association with hunting rights. It was latterly adopted by wealthy urban elites. John McMoran followed this tradition by lighting the hall in his town house with three hart heads and a brass chandelier in 1596.[94] Another Edinburgh merchant and lawyer, William Little, had a hart horn with two flowers in 1640 with a brass chandelier.[95] Other inventories mention a 'blawing horn' – a hunting horn. A late medieval example is still preserved in the

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[90] T. Hope, *Practical Observations Upon Divers Titles of the Law of Scotland, Commonly Called Hope's Minor Practicks. Written by Sir Thomas Hope* (Edinburgh 1734), 538.

[91] *Protocol books of Thomas Johnsoun*, 100.

[92] NRS CS7/20 fol. 107r., Newton: Bain, *Records of the burgh of Prestwick*, 137.

[93] *Fraser Papers*, 229: Edin. Test, LXII, 270: *Registrum Aberdense*, 176.

[94] *Fraser Papers*, 229.

[95] NRS GD122/3/12.

hall at Crathes castle. This horn, which appears in the family arms, is traditionally related to the ownership of the lands.[96]A chivalric association with land ownership and rights to hunting is likely to have been attached to other horns and antlers. These two instances show how rising urban elites acquired some of the furnishing habits of the aristocracy. The assimilation of the hart horn type can be regarded as an example of 'vulgarisation' of aristocratic culture.[97] However, the Little family's other dining furniture at Liberton bore little resemblance to aristocratic hall furniture of the previous century, instead of a high table the best table was a walnut 'drawing board' an extending table, and the by-board was another walnut table. Though there was not a high table, Little hada green cloth for the 'hie board'.

Displays of arms were common in Tudor England.[98] Arms were not displayed in Scottish halls though such display became a feature of eighteenth- and nineteenth- century Baronial interiors. Instead only single weapons were displayed in the hall. Some hall inventories list a pole-arm, usually a halberd or a Jedburgh staff. These it seems were tokens of seigneurial power and lordship, representing the capability of the proprietor as a potential ally, a protector in local networks, and holder of judicial authority. The presence of a solitary item may better have indicated lordship or military potential more than a whole armoury. A single weapon was listed both in the halls of a lord, like Lord Hay of Yester in 1580 who had a Jedburgh staff,and in the townhouse of John McMoran, an Edinburgh merchant in 1596 who kept a halberd.[99] The merchant despite his wealth did not have the seigniorial pretensions of a landowner. Possibly McMoran displayed the halberd as a token of his authority in the town as a Baillie, but perhaps he intended it to emulate the furnishings of the landholding classes.

There was a Jedburgh staff in the hall of the tower at Braal in 1572 but it was accompanied by seven spears, a culverin and some leg-irons – 'pair of set irons and ane glasslawis'. Many other rooms at Braal had some weapons, and the whole house at that time was something of an armoury, and these weapons were probably not permanently displayed in the hall.[100] The Sinclair family was involved with the Marian civil war and infighting at this time. At Balloch and Finlarig there were eight Jedburgh staves, spears, steel targes, and Lochaber

[96] O. Hill, *Scottish Castles*, (London 1953), 74.

[97] R. Hilton, 'Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society', *Past & Present*, no. 39 (1968).

[98] C. Platt, *Great Rebuildings of Tudor and Stuart England* (Abingdon, 1994), 35.

[99] McPhail, *Fraser Papers*, 229: NRS GD110/1324, Yester.

[100] NRS GD96/124 Braal.

axes.[101]These displays were exceptional in Scotland. Some of the weapons were listed as being in the care of the porter – the porter at Yester was in charge of the hall furnishings. A decade later in 1615 the lawyer Lord Binning had seventeen muskets, two pistols and two dozen lances in his hall at the Byres.[102] Binning's display was perhaps more decorative in character than that at Balloch or Braal, perhaps influenced by English halls.

English architectural history has a narrative of the decline of the great hall during the later middle ages and sixteenth century. Some medieval commentators urged the lord to continue dining in hall in the middle ages. English writers who regretted the passing of the hall particularly lamented the absence of the lord who ought to be visible to the household: this was perhaps the central motif of hall ritual.[103] Famously William Langland's *Vision concerning Piers the Ploughman*, written in 1377, describes how a lord and lady eat in a privy parlour or chamber rather than the 'chief halle'.[104]The Scottish poet Richard Maitland included a lament for the eclipse of entertainment at Christmas in his *Satire on the Age*, when the nobility took to attending court at Holyroodhouse. The kitchens had been allowed to cool and Maitland used the long benches as a metaphor for the hall, stools for private dining;

> For now I hier na wourde of yule,
> Lordis lattis thair kitchingis cule,
> And drawis thame to the Abbay,
> Nor thai did then that held grit yulis,
> Off meit and drink said never nay,
> They had lang formes quhair we have stulis,
> And mirrines was nocht away.[105]

[101] Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth*, 338.

[102] Fraser, *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. 2, 290.

[103] Thompson, *Medieval Hall*: F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Food and Pastimes* (London, 1964), 18: L. C. Orlin, '"The causes and Reasons of all Artificial Things" in the Elizabethan Domestic Environment' in J. Leeds Barroll ed., *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, vol. 7 (1995), pp. 19-32: Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, 79-82: Platt, *Rebuildings*, 36, 183.

[104] Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, 146.

[105] W. Craigie ed., *Maitland Folio Manuscript*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, STS, 1919), 37, Satire on the Age.

Maitland's *Satire* may be as earlyas the late 1540s, but the inventories considered here date from later decades. Maitland's verses remind us that whatever local cohesive community effects hall ritual had they depended on the presence of the lord or representative in a *caput* often far from the centres of monarchic government.[106] In many houses and in new builds, the hall and its rituals would be permanently abandoned and the space demoted to other uses, changes apparent in seventeenth-century inventories. William Lithgow included similar language in a poem of 1633 (though describing the ruined homes of rebel lords);

> Then Lairds keept Courts and ev'ry Lord at home,
> Liv'd lyke a Prince or Cardinall of Rome,
> Yea, and contracted no debt, morgagd no land,
> But wore the cloth their wives wrought with their hand,
> And now where kithchins smoaked good cheare hath beene,
> There's cold and hunger and bare walls now seene.[107]

Communal dining was advocated by Thomas More in his*Utopia*. He envisaged halls serving thirty families who would sit on three tables, men against the wall and women on the outside.[108] More's ideal contrasts with an urge for privacy during eating described by Norbert Elias in his *Civilising Process*, and in anthropological terms by Mary Douglas as 'pollution behaviour'.[109]However, the primary reason for the abandonment of large scale hall dining was because its earlier cohesive social purpose was no longer a priority in the domestic setting. Hall dining still persists in institutions to shape collegiate identity.

Private dining areas, in great chambers and parlours were provided in fifteenth-century English houses, but equivalent rooms or room names are not easily found in Scottish records. While some similar pressures or influences were experienced, Scottish habits were more conservative or the older manner was perceived to have continuing social value. Hospitality in the country ensured the support of a following who could offer political support and muscle. Fynes Moryson, writing in the early seventeenth century, remarked that the servants in Scotland who brought the food then sat down in the hall with the other diners. Earlier he

[106] Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, 23-191.

[107] W. Lithgow, *Scotlands Welcome to King Charles* (Edinburgh 1633), sig. B4.

[108] T. More, *Utopia translated by Rafe Robynson* (London, 1556), 64.

[109] M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966), 36.

saw that, 'the Scots living then in factions used to keep many followers, and so consumed their revenue of victuals', claiming that manners had changed in his lifetime, and lords had shed their followers.[110]

The hall remained paramount in the planning of Scottish houses until the early seventeenth century, when smaller and more private dining rooms succeeding the chamber of dais came into use. An inventory of Huntly Castle made in 1648 describes the former great hall in the palace as the 'Laich Common hall', and the room was set for servants dining with no high table. The Marquis of Huntly had a dining roomin the suite above. The Marquis was criticised for adopting the 'English devil of keeping estate' which cost him his followers and led to his execution in 1649, and whatever else was found objectionable in his behaviour, the abandonment of commensality at Huntly may have beenone factor in this characterisation. Changes and subtle differences in manners, in hospitality, in deference, obligation and obedience, may have contributed to misunderstanding and conflict in Scotland during Charles I's reign, as David Stevenson has tentatively suggested.[111] Other grievances were perhaps focused into a traditional complaint of aristocratic neglect of local responsibilities. Local popularity and influence for aristocrats and magnates was maintainedby keeping state in a manner appropriate to Scotland. Unfortunately details of this manner are vague: reports of undue Scottish familiarity with Charles I point to a lack of formality, but punctilious ceremony may have otherwise been present.

In England withdrawal from the hall led to the provision of parlours, chambers of estate, and privy chambers. Such spaces are not so obvious in Scottish architecture or inventories. This same division between great chamber and hall was common in Scotland too, but is less well understood. In Scotland, the room beyond the hall high table was called the 'chamber of dais'. The chamber was invariably furnished as a bedchamber in this period. MacGibbon and Ross often identified these as the 'private room' on their plans. Where the hall formed a wing, Richard Fawcett discusses them as 'hall and chamber lodgings'.[112] The chamber of dais corresponded closely with the *solar* of English medieval halls. In a tower house the chamber

[110] *Early Travels in Scotland*, 88-9.

[111] Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, *A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper* (Aberdeen 1844), 76-7, 80, 107: D. Stevenson, 'The English Devil of Keeping State, Elite Manners and the Downfall of Charles I', in *Variorum*: *Union, Revolution & Religion in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Aldershot 1997).

[112] Fawcett, *Scottish Architecture, 1371-1560*, 267.

of dais might be above the hall. After use of the word dais for high table had lapsed, the chamber of dais remained a feature of planning, even for merchants without noble pretensions. Liberton House built near Edinburgh for a merchant family had a chamber of dais in 1640.[113] A late source, a biography by Jonathan Swift reports the Scottish chamber of dais to be reserved as a guest room for the feudal superior.[114] If this was how the chamber was regarded, then in houses where the monarch was the feudal superior it was a 'state room' appointed for the king's use. The authority of high table was underwritten by the potential presence of the monarch in the room beyond.

Inventories show that dining furniture was frequently provided in the chamber of dais. The earliest examples are at Calder in 1566 and Inchinnan, recorded around 1570.[115] There was a hall with the usual common characteristics including the high table and hart horn, mentioned above. There was also a 'great chamber' where the 'chamber of dais' might have been found.[116] This room was on the first floor next to the hall, with a 'laich great chamber' underneath with three beds, which served perhaps as accommodation for servants or guests of lower status, and might not necessarily have been connected with the space above. Inchinnan's high great chamber was furnished with a 'braid syt burd' a side board table, and a brass hanging chandelier. These items indicate its use as a semi-public dining room, a little hall, but there was also a bed, reflecting the dual use of the space as the chamber of dais.

In 1566 the 'great chamber' at Calder was a bedchamber similarly equipped with dining furniture and chandelier. At Tantallon castle in 1592 the 'outer chamber' next to the hall had a bed and hall furniture.[117] These rooms were in the position of the chamber of dais, and formed a kind of apartment, and though on the same floor as the hall, could be compared with the English great chamber. These inventories show that John Sandilands of Calder, Lennox, and the Earl of Angus had withdrawn from regularly dining in the hall. Their habits may have been representative of much of the nobility in the second half of the sixteenth century. While

[113] NRS GD122/3/12.

[114] J. Swift, *Memoirs of Capt. John Creighton* (London 1731), 97, 'the chamber where he lay was called the chamber of deese, … a room where the laird lies when he comes to a tenant's house'.

[115]G Crawfurd and W Semple, *History of the Shire of Renfrew* (1782), 43-4 suggests Inchinnan dated from 1506.

[116] Fraser, *Lennox Charters*, vol. 2, 276.

[117]*Protocol books of Thomas Johnsoun*, 100-3: NRS GD16/37/13.

the hall might not have been used for dining by the lord on a daily basis, the components of hierarchic display within were maintained. For a time then, in some houses, the fully furnished hall and an adapted or improvised private dining space co-existed.

The several functions of the chamber of dais in Scotland as bedchamber, dining room or parlour have not always been acknowledged, so the differences in function between the principal suite in England, Scotland and France in the sixteenth century may be exaggerated.[118]Similar activities were managed in a shorter apartment. It can be appropriate to see room use in earlier periods in terms of clusters rather than one processional route. The entrance,halland chamber of dais appear to be the main reception suite, while other bedchambers and cabinets might be grouped together with the gallery. Patricia Waddy found a distinction in Roman etiquette books between the time of Paolo Cortesi's chapter on the ideal palace in *De Cardinalatu* (1510) and seventeenth-century manuals of manners, in which the spatial layout of the apartment becomes all important. In Cortesi's scheme manners are suited to room clusters rather than to the strung out enfilade. The long apartment permitted the reception of guests to be finely gradated.[119]This might not have become a priority for Scottish patrons. Discussing German palaces, where the bedchambersapparently remained private, Samuel Klingensmith noted that the linear sequencing of the apartment broke down in the private zone, where patterns of circulation became more flexible.[120] These observations suggest the single apartment or route is not necessarily the best conceptual model for early modern formal planning in Scotland.

Perhaps the punctiliousness in manners which required a long apartment was not an issue for the Scottish aristocracy. This seems consonant with Keith Brown's view of a monochrome nobility in a society where 'court aristocrats and local lairds continued to inhabit a shared world' – apart from when they attended court.[121] Few houses had suites of rooms like the royal apartments at Holyroodhouse or Stirling.[122] The buildings of the Scottish court for the

[118] Mckean, *Chateau*, 67-8

[119] Waddy, *Seventeenth Century Roman Palaces*, 10.

[120] S. J. Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendor: Ceremony, Social Life, and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria* (Chicago 1993), 131.

[121] K. Brown, *Noble Power* (Edinburgh, 2011), 44.

[122] Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces*, 131-4: R. Oram, 'Living on the Level' *Architectural Heritage* XXVI (2015), 37-53.

most part had little influence on the aristocracy, whereas in England new features introducing magnificence can often be traced to the court.[123] Equivalent formality and distinction to thatpractisedin other nations may have been achieved in modest sequences of room by subtle communication rather than architectural cues. If sequencing and gradation of guests took place around the threshold of a chamber of dais which had variable functions, then Scottish hosts and their servants must have been more willing to offer verbal cues or gestures to dismiss and admit guests as occasion demanded, cues silently given by the architecture in longer room sequences. This handling would appear more direct, saying what was unsaid in other countries, and may well have appeared informal. In 1632 Robert Ker needed to explain how to fashion a new longer room sequence to his son, and he would have had to explain it to his guests. This change could be identified with Patrick Gordon of Ruthven's comments that the Marquess of Huntly was a victim of his habit of the 'English devil of keeping estate', a move towards aristocratic group privacy and the restriction of access for followers.[124]

Patrick Gordon of Ruthven contrasted the careers of the Marquess of Montrose and the Marquess of Huntly in 1649. The affable Montrose seemed 'verily to scorn ostentation and the keeping of state'. Elsewhere, Gordon uses the word 'state' to mean the canopy above a seat, but uses it here it to mean the deference expected from inferiors. Gordon recognised new ways of keeping of state adopted by Huntly as an English affectation;

> For once that Inglish divell, keeping of state, got a haunt amongst our nobilitie, then begane they to keepe a distance, as if there ware some divinitie in them, and gentlemen therefor most put off there shoes, the ground is so holy whereon they tread.[125]

Huntly had adopted English manners, an error which alienated his following, and hastened his fall and execution in March 1649. Gordon identified three English characteristics of a male noble: reserve, keeping of distance, and proud show of estate. These were in 'antipathie' to the natural Scottish inclination to be affable, courteous and sociable. Huntly was perfectly

[123] Howard, *Early Tudor Country Houses,* 83.

[124] D. Stevenson, 'The English Devil of Keeping State, Elite Manners and the Downfall of Charles I', in *Variorum*: *Union, Revolution & Religion in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Aldershot 1997).

[125] P. Gordon, *A short abridgement of Britane's distemper* (Aberdeen 1844), 76

mannered before he went to England, where that nation's habits overcame his 'naturall inclinatione'.[126]

Patrick Gordon wrote at the termination of Huntly's career, and found an explanation in his English upbringing. Other causes could be found for Huntly's political failure. Success as an aristocrat depended on many factors. Keeping a local following depended on hospitality, of which the architectural setting and its furnishing is a vital component. Huntly changed his use of Huntly Castle, reconfiguring its rooms for personal privacy and lost his head. Gordon continued that the English were more slavish towards their superiors than the Scots. David Stevenson described how the behaviour of Charles I seemed mismatched to the expectations of the Scots in 1633 and 1641. In part this was due to the personal demeanours of the king and would-be courtiers. English and Scottish observers like Gordon, claimed that the nation was more affable.[127] However, it is possible that changes in behaviour and different expectations of condescension in Scotland merely revealed existing and accustomed deferential relationships – English observers may have not have noticed Scottish nuances and cues. As aristocrats changed their behaviour so new requirements of their followers would breed new awareness of their respective roles.

In anthropological terms the situation might be compared to Bruno Latour's network theory idea of the black box – when the elements that construct society are working they remain invisible within a black box. When there is a problem then component agents become visible.[128] According to Gordon, Huntly's English manners contributed to his downfall. The relationship between feudal lord and tenant became visible and subject to scrutiny and debate. Huntly's following was undermined by his manner, which with dining, drawing room, and closet, were agents of the English devil of keeping estate. Manners, furniture, room use, religious differences and economic pressures can be identified as component agents, rather than highlighted as historical causes.

[126] P. Gordon, *A short abridgement of Britane's distemper* (Aberdeen 1844), 76-7, 217, 230.

[127] Stevenson, 'The English Devil of Keeping State, Elite Manners and the Downfall of Charles I'

[128] B. Latour, *Pandora's hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Harvard 1999), 304.

In England around the middle of the sixteenth century many halls were sub-divided into two floors.[129] This adaption was not possible in Scotland where first-floor halls rarely formed two storeys in a lodging. The decline of hall is often associated with the decline in the status (and to a lesser degree, the number) of household servants, who as Fynes Moryson noted would serve and sit in the hall. Two sorts of hospitality declined or changed, the community of the household, and the entertainment of family name or clan in the locality. Some halls were converted into dining rooms, or were used as the laich, common or lettermeat halls where servants ate.[130]

At Huntly Castle the main hall in the palace, built in the 1550s and sporting more recently installed plasterwork, was in 1648 a 'laich common hall' with no high table. Lettermeat halls for servants in other houses may represent former halls. Other halls were furnished with leather chairs and became dining rooms. Some early seventeenth-century houses had additional 'little dining rooms'. These may have been designed for use in winter or when the number of guests was small, or possibly for ladies alone. Some little dining rooms were used at the same time as a 'great dining room' by the host and guests of higher rank. The rooms may roughly correspond to the great and common parlour in English usage.[131]

In the new dining rooms hierarchy was maintained by seating arrangements and the types of chairs. In 1631 the great dining room at Moray House had a great armed chair of red leather which cost 15s, eight matching chairs that cost 7s-8d, and eight stools that were 4s-6d each. These were placed around a round walnut table and a square walnut table. There was a separate table for the two children of Lady Moray. The cupboard was also made of walnut. The tables had leather covers and green cloth covers edged with cords of gilt leather. There were matching covers for the best chairs. Over the fireplace was a picture of the *Five Senses* and the other decoration was the *Twelve Sibyls*. Light was provided by thirteen candlesticks or sconces. The servants, some of whom were accommodated in the garret ate in their own lettermeat hall.[132] The same family had adining room at Donibristle House, but there was also anew intimate little dining room with some furniture fit for a drawing chamber. The pictures

[129] Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, 177-8.

[130] McKean, *Scottish Chateau*, 66.

[131] Orlin, 'The Causes and Reasons of all Artificial Things in the Elizabethan Domestic Environment', 29.

[132] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5, Moray House, fol. 8: The round table came from the Aldersgate house and was supplied by a joiner called Darbie.

were religious: including a *Nativity*diptych,*Susannah and the Elders*, though these were moved to more private rooms in the 1640s. Otherfurnishings included the virginals and a French trunk on a stand.[133]At Balgonie Castle in 1675 the great hall was furnished as a dining room with twenty-nine Russia leatherchairs, while the new dining room had a dozen more costly 'carpet' covered chairs.[134] The dining room was hung with tapestry but there were no hangings in the hall. The old hall had twenty-nine pictures. It seems likely this hall was a great dining room and the new room, a luxurious little dining room like that at Donibristle. Halls were converted to great dining rooms, losing most of their sixteenth-century arrangement and function. A new small dining room was provided for regular family use. The large dining room in the old hall might not be used as regularly, and when it was its guests were drawn from the upper ranks of neighbours rather than the old following.

3:3 Conclusion

The hall in the later middle ages and into the seventeenth-century remained the largest room and the centre of social relations in the castle and country house, where the lord could build and reinforce regional relationships. In Scotland local ties were recorded in bonds of manrent. More centralised forms of government swept this culture away and the need for hall culture was reduced.

Hall dining was ritualised hospitality instantly recognisable and socially cohesive throughout Europe. The position of the hallreflected regional or national custom. Akin to French practice most halls were on the first floor in Scotland.[135] The relation of the hall to other rooms depended on this position, and generally there was important accommodation at the high end of the hall called the chamber of dais. In Scotland services were usually on the ground floor or in basements beneath the hall. Only occasionally was there a separate stair for dishes to come up from the kitchens below to the service end of the hall. Most inventories mention a

[133] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 6, Donibristle, fol.7, 'Item ane pictur of the birth of Christ, Item ane pictur of susanna & the elders', the nativity picture was described in NRAS 217 box 5, no. 469 as 'the picture that folds with tuo lyves representing the virgine & the bab & the wyse men offering gifts': the virginals were later taken to the Canongate.

[134] NRS GD26/6/70.

[135] Thompson, *Medieval Hall*, 145-7, 152.

chamber of dais leading from the hall, or (less often) a great chamber. Discussing these rooms as a forerunner of the state apartment is perhaps misleading.[136]

Health and hygiene, though not very obvious in the inventory evidence, would have been important concerns in daily practice, and a strong component of the sociological impact of the hall, by ritual use of water ewer and towel in washing. There was emphasis on cleanliness and the royal inventories detail talismans used against poison. Rituals of serving and ceremony were a celebration of health, giving followers a glimpse of their lord and the secure establishment of his physical presence. Hospitality in the hall could be extended to numbers of kin, tenants, and household servants. Hall furnishings contributed to a discourse of lordship or allegiance emphasising the presence of the lord, actual or not, and his relationship to the monarch as feudal overlord or representative and source of justice to the diners. Largesse and generosity were to be accepted with these messages of reciprocal obligations.

Much of the day-to-day practice and ritual of hall dining may have been similar in the countries of Northern Europe, but some aspects of hall furnishing were distinctly Scottish. The chandelier made of antlers and the hunting horn were a reminder of the lord's right over the land, the single weapon a token of justice and feudal service. The lord sat at a high table, emphasised by carving, painting and more elaborate hangings. Others sat at side or mid tables, ranged around the hall, with diners sat on both sides, often on benches fixed to the tables. The room beyond, behind the high table, the chamber of dais, the great chamber, was understood to be reserved for his feudal superior, a presence chamber. All these elements contributed to a performance, the central performance of the house,and each component had an equivalent supporting role. The whole ensemble would disappear near the end of our period, although some of its elements like the antler chandelier and the display of a weapon were assimilated in the halls and dining rooms of urban elites, and re-emerge in nineteenth-century Baronial style.

The nature of kinship loyalty in the sixteenth century was described by Gordon Donaldson asa relationship where the 'allegiance of the "following" was determined by the party alignment of its head'and this client relationship was made manifest by bonds of

[136] A. Gomme & A. Maguire, *Design and Plan*, 43

manrent.[137]James VI made efforts to dissolve these relationships, preferring royal justice widening access and participation.[138]However effective hall entertainment may have been in promoting stability and cohesion by maintaining the following, this function was eventually abandoned. Before the end of the sixteenth-century, in many houses the lord and his family had withdrawn from the hall and regularly ate in the chamber of dais, where inventories record tables and chairs suitable for dining. The high table in the hall was retained for special occasional hospitality and the holding of courts. In the seventeenth century high tables were removed, and the hall might either become a servant's hall or an aristocratic dining room.

Abandonment of the hall could be seen as an adoption of English practice after 1603. As the hall seems an embodiment of sociability, generous entertainment, and easy access for numbers of followers, the transition might be seen to create a new aristocracy more distanced from other ranks. However, much of the ritual and spatial arrangement of the hall, as we have seen, would have presented lords at the high table as distant superiors. Nevertheless, contemporary comments discuss Scottish aristocrats adopting English manners to their detriment, manners thought more formal. The demonstration of these manners was inextricablefrom the domestic environment, and perhaps changes in manners were first perceived in the use of dining rooms.

Archibald Campbell, 1st Marquess of Argyll (1607-1661) was praised by William Habington for keeping his native manners at court: 'Nor when you did to court repaire, Did you your manners alter with the ayre'.[139]Argyll provided his own thoughts on hospitality in his *Instructions to a Son* (1661) recommending spending more on hospitality at home on his estates than in town. He noted that the English still focussed their spending on hospitality at home rather than at court.[140]Argyll maintained a large following. Old style hospitality in the country would linger on as personal preference.[141] Seventeenth-century Scottish aristocrats, including Argyll, might maintain a house in Edinburgh and London. The inventory of the Edinburgh house built for the dowager Countess of Home around 1630 is discussed in later

[137] G. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men* (Edinburgh, 1983), 151.

[138] J. Goodare, 'The Nobility and the Absolutist State in Scotland, 1584–1638, *History*, vol. 78, No. 253 (June 1993), pp. 161-182, 164.

[139] Habington, *Castara*, 'To the Right Honourable Archibald Earle of Ar.'

[140] Bryson, *Courtesy to Civility*, 140-1: Campbell, *Instructions to a Son*, 80-81.

[141] Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, chs. 1-2.

chapters of this thesis. Its furnishings were interchangeable with the family's London house, and there were reception rooms, a dining room, but no hall. It may thus be possible by study of household accounts to compare relative activity and expenditure in the country, in London and in Edinburgh.

Chapter 4 Beds, Bedchambers, and Bedchamber suites

4:1 Introduction

Beds were the most expensive furnishing items in the early modern period. Even in the seventeenth century the cost of the best beds easily exceeded that of tapestries, pictures or any other ornament. The effort made to provide rich beds suggests that they were objects to be displayed, and this consideration should be weighed against assumptions that bedchambers were private spaces in the early modern period.Guests would often be received in bedchambers, and presumably such visitors were only a selected few of those that would be received in the hall. Until the first decades of the seventeenth century almost every room in an aristocratic Scottish house contained a bed apart from the hall,the gallery, offices and service quarters. The word ‘chamber’ usually means bedchamber.

Important bedchambers led off the public spaces of the halland gallery, others could be located one above another in towers or jambs.In the seventeenth centurysome drawing chambers were placed between the public space and the bedchamber. The introduction of intervening reception rooms without beds coincided with English influence after the Union of the Crowns.However, such drawing chambers in bedchamber suites are found in few inventories before 1650.

The royal beds have not been included in this analysis as the sources are published and well known, and theyare not necessarily representative of other beds in Scotland.[1] Seventeenth-century housekeeping inventories give very detailed descriptions of beds and their components, while earlier inventories are often vague in detail.The first partof this chapter shows how beds were described in Scottish inventories. In the second section this understanding is applied to the beds of the Marquess of Huntly in 1648. The thirdsection looks at bedchamber suites and how their planning changed in the period.

[1] Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*: Robertson, *Inventaires*: S. Rush, ‘French Fashion in 16th Century Scotland: the 1539 inventory of James V's wardrobe' in *Furniture History*, vol. XLII (2006).

4:2 Reading the bed in Scottish inventories

Testamentary sources establish that owners considered beds to be significant heirlooms.[2]Letters and accounts confirm that beds were costly, highly prized and they are prominent in inventories. Sometimes each piece of the curtains was detailed with measurements. Bedding, sheets, and mattresses could also be of considerable value, and much cheaper versions were provided for servants' beds, feathers and down for the nobility and straw and chaff for servants. Inventories include evaluative language like best, rich, lesser, cloth, or old, which represent overlapping scales of value for the beds of the elite.

Sixteenth-century Scotland had its own vocabulary for the fabric parts of a bed, which differed from contemporary French and English usage. French and English inventories from the fourteenth century onwards call the roof of beds the *ciel* or *celour*.The cloth behind the head and pillows was the *tester*, the headpiece.[3] These words were not used in Scotland where 'ruif' and 'heid piece' were preferred. In Scots, the word *silour* was sometimes used for a wooden canopy over a chair, and to panelling as *sylouring*. In England the short curtains around the top of the bed were called *valences*, in Scotland until the seventeenth century the word *pand* was preferred, equivalent to the French *pente*. The decorated cloth covering the bedding, which often matched the curtains, called a counterpoint or counterpane in English inventories, was simply called the *covering*. By the second quarter of the seventeenth century many owners and housekeepers had adopted some of the English terms. In style however new beds were French; either imported from France or Scottish- and London-made versions of French models, while older beds could be converted into French beds.[4]The households who first abandoned the Scots words *pand*and *covering*for the English *valance* and *counterpoint* were those who had more contact with court at London and adopted their French fashion through an English filter.

A bed belonging to the earl of Mar in 1572 was described using the usual Scots vocabulary. The phrasing is typical for an inventory made for housekeeping purposes throughout the period:

[2] NLS Ms.ch. 4031, 16 November 1602, will of the countess of Mar.

[3]P. Eames, 'The Making of a Hung Celour'*Furniture History*, vol. 33 (1997), 35-42.

[4] Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 173-4.

> ane bed of reid yallow silk chakerit, viz., thre pandis, the bedheid and ruiff, with the laiche pand, the freinzes according thairto, with thre courtingis and a covering of reid and yellow taffatie, the timmerwark of vannat trie, and the stoupis thairof turnet warke.[5]

The description is only unusual for mentioning exposed decorative timberwork, the turned or carved‘stoupis’ (posts). These were not covered with the fabric sleevesusual for unadorned bed posts. The use of walnut wood points to a French origin. When the Earl of Angus went into exile in England in 1583 an inventory was made of beds brought from Tantallon Castleto Berwick-upon-Tweed. The list uses the English terminology of *testers* and *valences*.[6] The difference was simply in vocabulary and the bed components probably differed little across the border. Some seventeenth-century inventories drop *pand* for *valence* and substitute*tester* for *head piece*and *counterpoint* for *covering*. Other families continued to use *pand* while *ruif* and *heid piece* remained current. Early seventeenth-century use of*valence* and *tester*correlates with close contact with the absent court, London purchasing, or housekeeping organised by an English wife. Examples include the inventories of the English Countess of Home in the 1630s, Jean Drummond, countess of Roxburgh at Floors who had been a lady in waiting in London, and the Earl of Nithsdale and his English wife Elizabeth Beaumont, niece of the Duke of Buckingham, at Caerlaverock.

A significant difference in custom with no clear French or English equivalent is signalled by the‘chapel beds’ found in many Scottish inventories. Several beds seized at Huntly Castle in 1562 were described as ‘chapel beds.’ The English diplomat Thomas Randolph wrote that no stuff was found there ‘save a few beds of the worst sort’.[7] The chapel is hard to characterise because the form seems to have changed over the years. ‘Chapel’ is likely to have referred to the canopy, which seems to have been suspended in earlier examples, though some later chapel beds have posts. Many roofs were supplied with six decorative knops, the urn-like or feathered features at the corners of the canopy, suggestingthat the canopy was either

[5] HMC 60, *Mar and Kellie supplement*, (1930), 30-32.

[6] *Calendar State Papers Scotland*, vol.6 (1910), no.183: TNA SP52/30 fol. 238.

[7] *Calendar State Papers Scotland*, vol.1 (1898), p.658 no.1144.

hexagonal with knops at the corners, or had a tent-like roof, raised up in the centre.[8] The chapel bed was a prestigious form, usually found in the best bedchamber.

Chapel beds continue to occur regularly in seventeenth-century inventories. At Newark (in Ettrick) in 1632 the chapel bed was a red embroidered bed with head-piece and knops.[9] The Marquess of Huntly's bed at Bog o'Gight in 1648 had six knops and was described using the Scots vocabulary;

> Ane chappell bed with ane imbroyddied roofe, and pand and headpiece of yellow floured velvet imbroyddied with gold, and fyve piece of damask rid and yellow courtines with a freinyie of silk and gold and laid with gold laice, six gilted knappes with feathers and spaingles, a stitched taffitie matt.

In 1638 Margaret Home, Countess of Moray, who had an English mother, employed an English vocabulary to describe a chapel bed at Castle Stuart. This had posts and red cloth curtains with black velvet applique:

> ane chappell bede, the vallance, koanter-poynt, hedpeice and postis of rede kloth inbrodyid with blake velvatt, with rede kamlet kourtinis leised, with tua armid charis conformid to the valance of the bede.[10]

The red woollen cloth valanceembroidered with black velvet could have been similar to the well-known Linlithgow and Lochleven hangings of Scottish provenance once associated with Mary, Queen of Scots. These are thought to be the work of professional embroiderers.[11]At Aberdour Castle in 1647 there were'seven pieces of red embroidered hangings with black velvet' and matching bed curtains in the tower bedchamber and itsouter room.[12]If the Lochleven hangings were a possession of the Earls of Morton, then these examples listed in useat Aberdour castle were probably similar.The probable existence of another set at Castle

[8] M. Pearce, 'Chapel Beds', *Journal of the Regional Furniture Society* (2013), 75-91.

[9] NRS GD224/906/93, Newark 1632.

[10] NRAS box 5 no. 828, Castle Stuart 1638.

[11] M. Swain, 'The Lochleven and Linlithgow hangings', *PSAS* (1994), 455-66.

[12] NRS GD150/2843/2, Aberdour 1647.

Stuart confirms Swain's conclusion that these were professional productions in fashionable style.

The richness and quality of fabrics usedincreased the cost and prestige of beds.The wooden elements of the bed hardly featured in the reckoning. The fabric components were paramount. Some earlier beds were made of imported tapestry or tapestry-like cloths sometimes called arras, a name which attached itself to finest tapestry. Arras beds have to be distinguished from 'arras works' which appear in later sixteenth-century inventories. These were relatively inexpensive coverings or counterpanes with woven patterns, in imitation of tapestry, and were used on lesser beds and the bedsof household servants in Scotland and England.[13] The hangings of arras beds could be ordered with the patron's arms. William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen (d. 1514) had an arras bed decorated with his and the king's arms, and two cushions with his arms.[14] It is unknown if these arms were embroidered or woven in tapestry.

'Rich' beds are contrasted with 'cloth' beds in inventories.'Rich' was used to describe sumptuous fabrics especially in the context of display, beds with silk and velvet curtains. 'Cloth' beds had curtains made from warmer woollen broadcloths. In housekeeping inventories that listed items by category the beds were sometimes ranked in order of prestige. At Floors in 1648 there were a dozen cloth beds, four with chairs and stools upholstered 'suitable' to the curtains. Five 'rich' beds were stored in coffers andtheir posts were kept in a trunk above the stables.[15]

The terms rich and cloth do not distinguish in terms of monetary value. Cloth beds were preferred in winter time and the best could be expensively decorated with lace and silver and gold passmenterie,costing as much or more than silk or velvet beds.A rich satin bed at Floors was described as 'laid with broad gold lace'. 'Broad' is a sure indicator that the trimmings were expensive, and where prices can be compared the quantity and quality of lace and passmenterieis the major determinant. Another rule of thumb for value is the number of

[13] J. G. Nichols, ed., *The Unton Inventories relating to Wadley and Faringdon in 1596 and 1620* (London, 1841), 6, 7, 29.

[14] C. Innes ed., *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1845), 176.

[15] NLS RH 13/11/12, Floors 1648.

curtains; those with more than three curtains were more costly, few beds had as many as six.[16]

Curtains were made from a variety of woollen cloths, but the distinctions implied are not easy to reconstruct. Serge was a commonly used fine woollen furnishing fabric. A green and red serge bed at Floors was listed first among the 'cloth beds'. One of the more modest beds at Dunnotar in 1612 was a brown serge bed, and at Caerlaverock in 1640 there was a group of 'lesser' serge beds. These were the least amongst the most prestigious beds. Locally made serge could make a fine bed with the addition of suitable trimmings. In 1642 Jean Ross explained how she planned to make a serge bed for a visit by the Earl of Moray. She had enough serge made from her own wool for the curtains, which had probably been woven by a specialist in Elgin. The project depended on obtaining good lace and fringes to finish it as a best bed. Her letter mentions that the earl is 'very curious' meaning that he was a connoisseur of furnishing:-

> I kno he will do us the honnor to com to us, and I would fain have a chamer or twa well drest for his coming because he is veri curious in those things; and truely for the present we have not one stand of good curtteins nor any thing of that sort ... I have als much sad green serge of our aune making as will be ane bed, bot I cannott get less and fringes to itt heer; but I have written to Anna to buy als many less and fringes to itt, half silk and half worsett, as will serve itt ...[17]

Some woollen cloths were prizedfor their finish. Camlet or chamlet, a cloth which sometimes included goat's hair,can be identified with 'grosgrain.' It could be woven and hot-pressed for decorative effect, and embroidered.[18]It was produced with a damask pattern called a *champ*.[19]One variety was shot providing 'changing growgram curtains broiderit'.[20]Worset was another woollen fabric in use throughout the period.A bed recorded in 1483 had curtains

[16] Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Decoration*, 174.

[17] Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, vol.2, 257-8

[18] For this and following paragraphs, see C. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Furnishing Textiles* (Aldershot 2007)

[19] NLS MS. 5114, fol.2. Brechin Castle.

[20] NLS MS. 21183, ff.47-48: J.Crabb-Watt, J., 'Dunnottar and its Barons' *Scottish Historical Review,* vol. 2 (1904), 389-405: NRS RH 13/11/12 Floors 1648.

of worset.[21] Worset, like camlet, was pressed and described as 'champit' – fielded. It was also used for the lacing bed curtains, and worset thread in embroidery alongside silk. In 1564 cushions were embroidered with Flanders worset.[22]Carsay, kersey, or say, was another woollen cloth originally imported from England, in narrower widths than broadcloth.[23] Common colours were red, green, blue, and in the seventeenth-century a pale colour called 'gridaline'.Some says were'champit'.[24]In the early seventeenth centurya woollen cloth called 'perpetuana' was used for prestigious beds and hangings. The fabric was woven in Scotland for the Countess of Eglinton in the 1620s.[25]

Of the rich fabrics, taffetafeatures in the royal inventories of James V and Mary but is less often seen in other sixteenth-century lists of goods. It was frequently found in the seventeenth century, as at Dunnotar in 1612, 'flesh coloured spanish taffetie curtains'.[26]Red and yellow taffeta was used for the curtains of the Earl of Eglinton's chapel bed at Polnoon in 1623.[27] Taffeta was used for lining, the luxurious inside facing for curtains made of other cloths – 'scarlet courtane browdered & lyned throw with red and yellow Spainis taffetye.'[28] A bed covering could be made from taffeta backed with warm serge, the decorative silk face uppermost.Sarsenet was another silk used for coverings. In 1582 an English list of the Earl of Angus's furnishings from Tantallon included sarsenet quilts.[29] The word is uncommon in Scottish inventories and was probably the same fabric as taffeta.Velvets were the most expensive fabric. Red and black were the usual colours, and silver velvet was the most expensive. Purple velvet is rare outside the royal inventories, though Lady Fleming had a bed with a purple velvet roof and silver fringes in 1578. The Countess of Mar headed her list of heirloom beds with a purple velvet bed.[30]

[21] *Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints*, (1809), 119*.

[22] *Protocol BookThomas Johnsoun*, 100.

[23] Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Furnishing Textiles*, 117.

[24] Campbell, 'Castle Campbell Inventory 1595', 299-315.

[25] NRS GD3/6/36 no. 6.

[26] NLS MS. 21183, ff.47-48: Crabb-Watt, 'Dunnottar and its Barons', 389-405.

[27] NRS GD3/6/36 no.5, Polnoon 1623.

[28] NAS GD90/2/52, Dalkeith 1622.

[29] *CSP Scot.*, vol.6 (1910), no.183.

[30] NLS MS. ch. 4031, will of Annabel, countess of Mar.

Apart from the main facing fabric, the price and prestige of bed hangings varied according to the quantity and quality ofapplied decoration such as embroidery and appliqué work. The most expensive components were lace trimmings and passmenterie, those silk and gold being most expensive. Curtains, coverings, and sheets were often enriched with embroidery. Inventories do not describe patterns or colour, but indicate that items are 'sewit' or 'stickit' or 'broiderit'- terms which are perhaps interchangeable for any kind of embroidery.The frequently mentioned 'Irish stitch' or Irish work seems to have referred to the flame pattern now called bargello. A housekeeper of the Countess of Home decorated a sheet with shadowed work and tent-stitch in the 1630s, valued highly enough to be mentioned in the inventories and in the countess' will.[31] A similar sheet was listed in the contemporary inventory of Eleanor Wortley, Countess of Warwick.[32]Other techniques were mentioned in a 1648 inventory of Floors; 'salteine stitch', 'sewit crosse stitchet' and 'sewit pettipoint stitche with colloure of silk'. The detail of these descriptions indicates home production. In 1640 four beds at Balloch castle had valances embroidered with names of the laird and lady of Glenorchy.[33]Lace, appliquéwork and passmenterie were applied to curtains, as described in Lady Innes' letter.There were professional passmenterie makers, the inventory of a weaver from Antwerp, Nicholas Herman, includes a great silk mill, two silk trimming mills, and five looms used by his men.[34]

Mostinventories mention bed curtains, the wooden elementsand iron curtain rods and rings are not usually described. It is rare for any decoration of the timber bedstead to be mentioned. A 'standing bed of oak' or 'stand bed' was the frame of a bed without curtains, and in some inventories 'standing' seems contrasted to 'chapel'.[35]Beds were described as carved or 'schorn' without further stylistic qualification. Some beds were described as 'turned.' Flanders oak beds, sometimes described as carved probably were imported pieces. An oak bed listed in 1562 was made by 'one Schang,' the name of family of wrights associated with Perth, Edinburgh and the royal artillery.[36] Carved standing beds of 'estland' Baltic oak with

[31] NRAS 217 box 5 no.5, fol. 14r., the colour of shadow work is seen through a semi-transparent fabric.

[32] F. P Verney, *Memoirs of the Verneys,* vol 3 (London, 1891), 447-8.

[33] NRS RH13/11/12: Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth*, 349.

[34] NRS GD112/39/49/16, GD112/39/49/5, GD172/2052.

[35] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 828, Castle Stewart 1628, for 'chapel' and 'standing': NLS MS.5114, Brechin.

[36] *HMC6th Report*, 648: ECA Anna Mill records, St Mary's chapel minute books B1-5: NLS MS. 12989, minute book of Perth wrights.

rods and rings for curtains were specified in a 1566 inventory of Calder.[37] A richly carved bed at Crathes Castle dated 1594 with Burnett monograms is one of the few surviving sixteenth-century Scottish beds. This bed is naturally attributed to an Aberdeen school of carving. Carved oak beds were also made in Edinburgh by wrights like Johne Watsone and Jeromie Young who in 1621 had in stock 'ane courting bed of oak pryce £40 Item ane uthir bed of aik price £18'.[38] The most elaborate descriptions of carved beds are found in a 1559 inventory of Newton which lists seven beds 'of eistland brod of carvit and rasit werk in the maist courtlie manner bayth on the bed sydis heidis & ruiffis'.[39]'Courtly manner' probably meant smartly decorated rather than 'in the manner of the royal court.' Other mid-century beds described simply as carved oak were presumably similar, whether made in Scotland or imported.

'Close-beds' are uncommon in these inventories, but the form was well known in the eighteenth-century as a wooden box with doors. In the seventeenth century the close-bed had been one of the apprentice pieces in the Canongate, suggesting theywere popular in towns.[40] 'Fixed beds of oak' may have been similar, perhaps anchored to panelling. A box bed is set in panelling in an outer chamber at Craigievar Castle,suggesting subordinate status. Some surviving enclosed boxes beds have carved decoration and seem of high-status, (see fig. 4:1).[41]

[37] *Protocol Book of Thomas Johnsoun*, 100-3.

[38] NRS CC8/8/51, p.113 Johne Watsone: NRS GD3/7/9 Jeromie Young.

[39] NRS CS7/20 f.109r.

[40] D. Jones, 'Box Beds in Eastern Scotland' , *The Journal of the Regional Furniture Society*, vol. 4 (1990), pp. 79-8.

[41] *Domestic Life in Scotland*, 161: *HMC,9th report & appendix, Lord Elphinstone*, part 2 (1884), 192.

Fig. 4:1, corner of a 'close bed' front, Scottish, 17th century, (NMS)

Walnut and French walnut beds recorded in the later sixteenth century presumably had exposed and decorated timber. Pine beds were of lower status than oak beds. A 'wand' bed was a wicker basket or box used as a cradle, or by servants, often the secondary bed in an important bedchamber called a 'by bed' was a wand bed.Robust wooden beds with carved decoration were more likely to survive and be preserved as curiosities by antiquarians. This leads to a marked mismatch between inventories and the surviving beds which have substantial decorated wooden headboards, posts and testers.[42]

The 'French bed' type superseded the carved bedstead around 1620 and became usual in northern Europe until the 1680s. The timber frame of this box-like bed was entirely concealed by fabric.[43]Such beds and their frames have not survived, because the plain timberwork was of no value or use after the fabric was worn out. A modest version of the French bed had three curtains which were hoisted up like blinds. Those with more curtains had rails, concealed by inner and outer valences. Most had four finials or knops at the corners. The posts had covers and the smartest beds had additional corner curtains at the foot

[42] Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration,* 160.

[43] Thornton, 'Some Late Sixteenth Century Medici Furniture', 2.

posts, called ‘cantoons’. The beds are best known through the engravings of Abraham Bosse and an English follower, Edmund Marmion (fig. 4:2).

Fig. 4:2*Sight*, Edmund Marmion, a ‘French bed’ in England, c.1653, (British Museum)

A1640 note mentions Lady Home’s disposal of ‘old fashioned wooden bedsteads’ doubtless replaced by the French style beds.[44] The bed she used at Donibristle of tanny (dull purple) perpetuana comprised:

> a headpeise, a rufe-pes, a cufir to the bedis heid, cuffirs to four posts, fyve curtins, four knobes for the bed, all of tannie perpetuana laid over with tannie and yallow lase, Item uter and inner vallance of the same tannie laid with the same lase.[45]

The outer and inner valence is characteristic of the French bed. This was one of the beds boughtin London in the 1630s for Moray House in Edinburgh and Donibristle House in Fife. Some of these were relatively inexpensive compared to best beds – perhaps representing

[44] NRAS 217 box 5 no.1210, Twickenham Park, valuation by Leon Walsh.

[45] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 6, Donibristle.

everyday luxury. The prices recorded might not represent the total cost, but suggest they cost less than £100. Despite their sophistication, these beds were not the most expensive because they lacked the costly silver and gold trimmings, corner knops, and lace. They also lacked corner curtains called bongraces or cantoons, which are a good indicator of a very expensive bed. One bought in 1633 for £24 comprised; six curtains of dark gray carsay laid with papingo (parrot) green lace, inner and outer valence, head-piece, roof and four post covers, with arm chair and stools with matching upholstery. Two other beds were supplied with curtains cut-out but not lined. White calico for these linings was stored in the wardrobe at Donibristle and the beds were finished by a housekeeper.

Another bed suite incorporated a French-made valence which may have added a further note of sophistication. Its curtains of crimson taffeta with red and white lace cost £22-5s. The roof was made of crimson calico. Matching furniture of a French chair and six French folding stools was £10. The bed and chairs had red cotton cases. Although the price of every component was not recorded, the total cost was clearly much less than the very best beds. A bed suite for the Earl of Moray's bedchamber in 1634 cost £900. This bed seems only slightly more elaborate than the others, emphasising that magnificence can rarely be accurately gauged from inventory descriptions:

> ane dark grene perpetuana bed last [laced] with brod lyght grene wnce lase all silke & a talle frenge all silk with fyve curtins & twa hed pieces & poules considall alyk with a great chyre twa lytill chyris and ane fut stull to the same & cottine casis to them all Item ane grene rug. Item four knopes to the bed. Item ane grene rug.
> Item ane rufe peise of the last of the same perpetuana
> Item uter vallance and iner vallance of the same perpetuana last with the same lase & fringe uter and iner, the uter vallance is tald.
> cost 009c lib-0-10s.

The five curtains and valences suggest this was an expensive type of French bed. The inflated price of this bed was due to the quality of the broad green lace, knops and accessories, and the use of same fabric on the chairs. The market provided a range of qualities. A silver velvet bed used at Twickenham Park in the 1630s and later at Donibristle was worth £500. In 1653 the Earl of Moray's executors described it as:'a ritch bedstead the furnitor qrof is of silver welwett which was estimat by the late earle at 500 lib starl: qrof there is nothing wanting but

one courten taken away by the English'. A party of English soldiers had stolen rich fabrics from Donibristle House in September 1651 before the battle of Inverkeithing.[46]

Other families had beds described as French, but probably bought in London. One belonging to Walter, Earl of Buccleuch at Newark Castle in 1632 was described asa green French cloth bed with buttons and broad lace with a covering and a table cloth, two chairs, two stools, and a resting chair (possibly a couch) 'all conform together'.[47]John Clerk imported a bedfrom Pariswhich he sold to William Ker, Earl of Lothian in 1649. It cost 952 livres tournois, around £850 Scots, to make.[48]Its suite included eight chairs, a great chair, two little stools and a walnut table.[49]However, it seems likely that beds were more often purchased in London than in Paris. This would explain the rapid adoption of English bed nomenclature seen in the inventories. Courtiers likeEdward Bruce, Lord Kinloss and the Earl of Morton transported some of their furniture between London and Scotland when they were called to court. It is possible that most of that furniture would have been bought in London, although some of Kinloss's stools had Scottish covers.[50] Morton was a successful participant in court ceremony, putting on a fine show riding to Windsor for his installation as a garter knight in August 1634 and this attention to detail would include his household stuff.[51]

The Earl of Eglinton had three English beds at Polnoon Castle in 1623.[52] He had not spent much if any time in London. Evidence for London purchases by proxy can be found in correspondence. In September 1632 the recently married John Gordon, Earl of Sutherland corresponded with his mentor Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun in London about a great bed. The packages were sent by sea to Dunrobin. Sir Robert included bills and notes from the upholsterer who made the bed.[53] These nobles made efforts to acquire London furnishings in emulation of courtiers, understanding that its cachet was necessary for their status.

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[46] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 63, 1202.

[47] NRS GD224/906/93, Newark 1632.

[48]J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775* (London, 1978), A livre-tournois was worth about eighteen English pence at this time, or roughly one Scottish merk.

[49] NRS GD18/2506, of merchandise 'lying by me unsold', 1 December, 1649.

[50] NRS GD150/2838/4, 'for my lord [Morton] to goe to London of stuffe: *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos*, x.

[51] Knowler, *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*, vol.1, 166, 242, 427.

[52] NRS GD3/6/36 no.5, 17 May 1623, Polnoon.

[53] Fraser, *Sutherland book, Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 157.

Taxation in Scotland was paying for some of the new finery acquired by courtiers like Morton who had official roles. Courtiers' fees, pensions and rewards were drawn from Scottish revenues. The lifestyle of officials at court became a concern to the Scottish treasurer the Earl of Mar. In April 1622, he wrote to the king, Prince Charles, and Buckingham advising on limiting and buying back pensions. Writing to the prince, Mar offered the opinion that Scotland's revenues were now overcharged by 'ane erronious custome begone amongst our people to equall their expenssis to the maner of Ingland'. The custom had led to the 'undoing of some of the best sort' and in consequence pensions and rewards had increased beyond the capability of the exchequer.[54] Expenses in the 'manner of England' would include furnishings for London lodgings, returned and used in Scotland.

Mar's opinion is about money rather than manners, reflecting a viewthat English lifestyles were more expensive than Scottish, seen in Argyll's idea that Scottish nobles had previously been obliged to spend less than an English squire on entertaining at home. The idea that this emulation was wasteful and unsustainable was unlikely to be shared by ambitious nobles constrained to keep up expenditure to match their ambition now focused at the court in England. While such sentiments were rarely directed at furniture, the purchase of expensive clothing for young men hoping to become attendants on court favourites is a more common theme.

The importance of beds is underscored by their inclusion in wills as special heirlooms.The Countess of Home (d.1644) left her black and white bed to her mother Theodosia Harington (d.1649). The bed seems to associated with cloths decorated 'in slips' with the Harington arms.[55] Annabella Murray, Countess of Mar, attempted to attach permanent significance to her best beds in 1602. She wanted her son and his heirs to preserve six beds, three diamond rings, and three fur collars as 'monuments to the honour and service of his house'.[56]She also commissioned bracelets and rings with ciphers of her name for several clergymen. The reservation of the diamonds or jewellery as perpetual heirlooms is paralleled by other period bequests. English wills feature beds among the bequests of aristocrats and the middling sort.

[54] *HMCMar & Kellie*, vol.1 (1904), 109-10.

[55] NLS Ms Acc, 14537, fol. 10-14: TNA PROB 11/272/611.

[56] NLS MS. ch. 4031, 16 November 1602, will of the countess of Mar.

A much quoted English example of an heirloom bed in the will of Thomas Lord Hungerford has been described by Peter Stallybrass as a 'patrilineal fantasy'. Hungerford hoped that as long as the beds endured they would commemorate his father.[57]The description of the Mar beds in the will was brief – a purple velvet bed, a black velvet bed, a chapel bed, a green English cloth bed – referring to a longer description in another inventory. The beds may have been very elaborate and valuable. They may have bought by the earl of Mar or his predecessors, or perhaps they were valued because they had been royal gifts, connected with the keeping of Stirling Castle and Prince Henry.Their origin is not as significant the future envisaged by the countess. She wanted the beds to become monuments of the Erskine family. The older these beds became the better they would testify to the stability and power of the family.

In order to maximise this message of lineage the beds could remain unaltered. There would a tension between new beds in the latest fashion demonstrating current wealth and ancient beds which testify to lineage. Beds could be overtaken by fashion. The form of the bed, the materials and the style of embroidery and decoration were liable to date. A record of the royal wardrobe in the 1560s details the re-fashioning of several beds and the recycling of others.[58] Beds could be embroidered with family arms and mottoes, but they do not seem an ideal medium to convey ancient lineage because they were easily damaged.Diamonds and fursgave more opportunity for displayas they could be displayed and worn outside the house. However, it is interesting that to act fully as a 'monument to the house' the beds would have to be displayed outside the immediate family. Perhaps these heirloom beds could be placed in chambersused for social activities, rooms with more restricted access than the great hall, but open to select groups.

4:3 Beds at the Bog o'Gight

Understanding comparative value of materials and relative prestige of types outlined above, it is possible to evaluate the comparative ranking of bedchambers. An inventory of the goods of

[57] E. Harris, *Going to Bed* (London 1981), 13: Jones & Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 264: S. Roberts, 'Lying Among the Classics' in L. Gent, ed., *Albion's Classicism* (Yale, 1995), 327: N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, vol. 1 (London, 1826), 295.

[58] Robertson, *Inventaires*, 125-176.

George Gordon, 2nd Marquess of Huntly at Bog o'Gightin 1648 shows how the beds and bedchambers were furnished according tohierarchy.[59]

In 1648 the Marquess, his son Lord Gordon, and John Gordon the laird of Buckie and the constable of Bog had 'chapel' beds. The three chapel beds differed in materials and elaboration. The Marquess' bed had five silk curtains and gold trimmings, Lord Gordon's was of blue cloth with silk trim, and Buckie's bed was of red cloth with only four curtains and no knops. While the luxury of build and materials differed, these three chapel beds could be ranked togetherbecause the shared form of these beds could express prestige more than or as much as the materials.

The laird of Buckie was not a very close relation to the Marquess, but the prestigious form of the bed conveyed his status as Constable and proxy for the Marquess. Looking at the other furnishings in these chambersis revealing, especially the number of chairs. Nicolas Courtin emphasised the importance of chairs in revealing the status of bedchambers in Parisian inventories.[60]A similar gradation can be seen at the Bog. The Marquess had threeupholstered chairs, and two wooden chairs;

> thrie chyris, one of rid claithe, one broyderid with blew velvet, and ane of read leather, ane highe and ane low timber, and ane shrine [coffer], and ane dry stoole.

This was the best bedchamber. It is interesting that the chairs did not match each other or the bed. The Marquess also had a study – the only such space in the castle. Lord Gordon had only two chairs, which matched the bed in blue. Buckie had a table but no chairs. The three chambers with chapel beds were also distinguished by the number of chairs. Gordon and Buckie had high status beds, at least in terms of form, but were not expected to entertain seated guests in their chambers, which may also have been smaller rooms.

Two beds of the next rank were 'rich' withtaffeta curtains andsilk lacing, better fabrics than Buckie's chapel bed. These beds were in significant positions, the chamber off the hall and

[59] NRS GD44/49/13/1/1, Huntly & Bog 1648.

[60]N. Courtin, *L'Art d'habiter à Paris au XVIIe siècle*(Dijon 2011), 76-82.

the chamber at the gallery door, which were traditional places for important bedchambers. At Bog, the Marquess' bedchamber was not in the chamber of dais, and a hall chamber with a bunk bed for servants was perhaps for visitors of high rank.The chamber adjacent to the gallery may have been that used by the Marquess' wife, Lady Anna Campbell, who died in 1638. Its status is elevated by two embroidered chairs. The position near the gallery may have been suitable for a bedchamber of the lady of the house – if it is assumed that galleries primarily were used by women.

Another group of chambers had lesser beds with curtains of green serge or camlet, the kind of serviceable beds described as 'cloth' in other inventories. These may have been rooms for the Marquess's three younger sons. This leaves few unallocated bed chambers for receiving guests in the castle, and identifying guest bedchambersis difficult.The servants' beds had no curtains. The porter slept in the lodge, kitchen servants slept in the 'pantry chamber' and others slept in garrets. Other inventories extend the example of servants sleeping near their work, such as laundry and dairy women in womenhouses which also contained their working utensils, the cook in a kitchen chamber, and men lodged over stables.

The inventory of Bog was chosen for this analysis because the bedchambers were not arranged in suites of rooms, except that some were accessed from or adjacent to the main public spaces of hall and gallery. The next section investigates bedchamber suites.

4:4 The bedchamber suite in Scotland

Important bedchambers had associated rooms and were entered from halls or galleries forming a kind of suite. The rooms of a suite or apartment were in a sequence of increasing privacy, enforced by social cues, invitation or closed doors. Other lesser bedchambers were often placed one above another in a 'jamb,' a small purpose-built wing. A third arrangement waspairs of inner and outer chambers. The use of these inner and outer chambers is obscure, the relation of the occupants of inner and outer chamber beds is unclear, and has little connection with inner and outer chambers in royal palaces.[61] The 'chamber of dais' the chamber next to the hall has been discussed in Chapter Three.

[61] Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces*, 151.

Architectural historians have identified suites of bedchambers in plans or inventories and labelled them as ‘state rooms’ or ‘apartments’.In theory these can be compared with room planning in other houses or countries, and particularly the planning of royal palaces, where something is known of ceremony and etiquette from other sources. The aim can become to neatly characterise Scottish practice and relate it to a model plan proposed for another country, often France. This was a purpose of Charles Wemyss’ survey of inventories, to create ‘a simple format which can be used to compare the internal arrangements of the Scottish country house with any other nationality’. Wemyss rated bedrooms in terms of rank by the mention of bed curtains and chairs and other fittings, and the approach is productive for later seventeenth-century houses. However, the notion of an apartment or suite should be seen as problematic for the majority of earlier Scottish houses in this period, houses which were mostly the result of accretive building over several centuries, often including accommodation in earlier towers. Only a few examples of apartments laid out horizontally can be found including the early French inspired example at Huntly from the 1550s and Culross Abbey House of 1608.[62]The nature of room sequences beyond the hall and chamber is far from clear and unlikely to be uniform, and the role of the hall chamber seems to be frequently misunderstood.One might consider the case of Castle Campbell where the hall is remote from lodgings in an earlier tower, connected by a later passage through galleries at three levels across the front of another intervening phase.

Including the most public room, the gallery or hall, as the first room of a suite or room cluster is a better starting point for analysis of the earlier period. Wemyss made a division between ‘living rooms’ without beds and rooms with beds.[63] This obscures the prevailing feature that houses had bedchamber suites or clusters of rooms leading from the public rooms, the gallery and hall, the essence of a suite being the sequence from public to private, and so masks the diversity of sequences found concurrently in Scottish houses. Inventories earlier than those consulted by Wemyss indicate that the transitional rooms, chambers of dais, bedchambers, outer chambers, were multi-functional with some furnished for small scale dining. When a bedchamber was used for dining, another best bed chamber might be provided.

[62] Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 79-82.

[63] C. Wemyss, ‘Aspiration and Ambition’, Dundee PhD, (2008), iv-v; part 2, 134-150.

Wemyss and other architectural historians conclude that earlier seventeenth-century houses had French-style lay outs, based on inventories, assumptions of well-established cultural links, and the assumed influence of the royal apartments of James V to which a French character has been attributed. The most obvious and constant Franco-Scottish link is the preference for a first floor hall, as in French planning, discussed above in chapter Three. Royal suites mainly have three rooms and closets.[64]However, royal apartments were also designed to deal with a greater number of visitors, sifted by rank and directed by ushers as far into an apartment sequence as was appropriate to their status. It is unclear that Scottish aristocrats would wish to copy this practice in their houses. It is here proposed that in Scotland plans developed variously from the medieval hall and chamber plan, perhaps in several stages, without much reference to any developments in royalapartment etiquette. Resemblance to custom elsewhere, in terms of architectural cues was limited, but similar sequencing and gradation of visitors may have been managed by social cues.

Generalising that any particular type of suite of rooms was preferred is unwise since the houses were heterogeneous, their plans subject to architectural constraints due to the retention of older and massive buildings. Room use too could be flexible, and this was also a feature of royal apartments which tend to form the basis for international comparison.[65]Room names, even in the royal palaces, were not consistent, and the names given in inventories may or may not reflect changes of use. A few sixteenth-century inventories mention outer and inner chambers. A small number of seventeenth-century inventories have drawing room, cabinet and bedchamber suites. These latter rooms can indeed be compared with a Frenchapartment of three rooms. These rooms, where some of the furnishings themselves are in French styles, were examples of conscious adoption of French or international style in Britain in the 1630s.

Evidence from inventories alone does not support a progressive model of increasing personal privacy, though the appearance of the drawing room and closet in the early modern sense was a very marked and abrupt change in the first half of the seventeenth century. Instead new group privacies were achieved. By counting numbers of chairs, the early modern bedchamber seems *less* private: sixteenth-century Scottish bedchambers had only one or two seats and

[64] Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces*, 150.

[65] K. De Jonge, 'Ceremonial Space, Exchanges between the Burgundian Low Countries and Spain, 1520-1620' in K. De Jonge & B. Garcia Garcia ed., *Fiesta y Ceremonia cortesana*, (Madrid 2010), 61-90.

perhaps a small dining table and so seem private compared to seventeenth-century bedchambers which were routinely supplied with half a dozen chairs. This was a French custom, emulating the court, where the King's bedchamber was used for audiences and other ceremonies, while in German palaces the bedchamber remained private.[66]

Previously, the use of the hall has been discussed as a public space where visitors could be entertained according to their rank. Seats were allocated according to their status, guests were sifted in the hall according to their place in society. Guests of high status were admitted beyond the hall into rooms which were furnished with beds. The elaborate nature of beds recorded in inventories suggests that they were created for display. The most sophisticated beds we have any knowledge of, outside the royal household, were those belonging to the earl of Huntly confiscated in 1562.[67] It seems likely that guests were privileged by being received in bedchambers, and of course guests of high rank might be invited to stay and sleep in such beds.

Beds were sometimes not intended for use. At the fifteenth-century Burgundian court an audience chamber beyond the hall was sometimes furnished with an elaborately draped bednot intended for use.[68] The unused bed, called the *lit de parement* was a bed of estate, representing the royal presence, andhinted at ever more private spaces where the monarch might actually sleep, serving as a proxy for those spaces which could not be accessed. This could initiate a process where suites of rooms were created, each 'withdrawing' from a more public room, each with a bed of state, with ever more impressive substitutes, until the real bedchamber was reached. It seems unlikely that the Scottish nobility deployed an unused bed of state in the Burgundian manner, since extended suites of rooms were rare. However the bed in the hall chamber, the 'chamber of dais' if it were not used by the lord as his own bedchamber may have been something similar. The Scottish 'chamber of dais' had some of the functions of the English 'parlour' and 'great chamber' the successors of the medieval solar and parlour, which were used for eating and sleeping.[69]

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[66] Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendor: Ceremony, Social Life, and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria*, 116, 123-7, 131.

[67] Robertson, *Inventaires*, 49-51.

[68] Eames, 'Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands', 257-8, 269.

[69] Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, 78, 112-3: Gomme, *Design and Plan*, 20.

Inventories show that houses had other chambers with beds, not connected with the hall, frequently stacked in jambs leading off stairs. By the seventeenth century'my lord's chamber' could bea different room from the hall chamber. The bed in a chamber of dais may have been solely for displayin such houses, although inventory evidence does not help here, with no indications of a beds usedonly for display. The presence of prestigious beds elsewhere in the house may however imply that the chamber of dais bed was reserved for special or infrequent use. Other sources suggest that the chamber of dais could be used by guests of high rank, especially of higher rank than the householder. This practice was summarised by a later description by Jonathan Swift of the chamber of dais as 'the room where the laird lies when he comes to a tenant's house.'[70] The English 'great chamber' could provide similar accommodation.[71]Sleeping arrangements at Frendraught in 1630 confirm the persistence of the hall and chamber arrangement, and show that high-ranking guests were put in the chamber of dais.The guest, John Gordon, Viscount of Aboyne slept in the chamber next to the hall with his two servants.[72] The chamber was in a tower, in the room above was a laird and his servants, and two servants sleeping in a room above; in this case the status of the rooms and guests were lower the higher climbed.[73]

Other types of suites of rooms were constructed in the seventeenth century. Some suites of outer and inner rooms were elaborations of this 'hall and chamber' plan rather than adaptations of palace planning. In 1592 Tantallon Castle had rooms that appear as a suite, 'my lord's inner and outer chamber.' The inner room was the principal bedchamber, the outer room was set up for dining though there was a walnut bedstead.[74] The outer room was entered from the hall, and its bed recalls the usual appointments of a chamber of dais. The use of the room beyond the hall as a dining chamber was an established feature of Burgundian etiquette, in*salle* and*sallette*.[75] Insixteenth-century England there was an expansion of private spaces providing new rooms with single functions, in great chambers and parlours. The

[70] J. Swift, *Memoirs of Capt. John Creighton* (London 1731), 97.

[71] Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, 114: Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 40-54.

[72] J. Spalding, *History of the Troubles*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh 1848), 9.

[73] McKean, *Scottish Chateau*, 161, 172, for a slightly differing interpretation.

[74] NRS GD16/37/13, Tantallon.

[75] De Jonge, 'Ceremonial Space, Exchanges between the Burgundian Low Countries and Spain, 1520-1620', 61-90.

functions of English parlours and great chambers were diverse.[76] In Scotland too the room leading from the hall was multi-purpose.

The lord's inner and outer chambers recorded at Castle Campbell in 1595 seem to relate to the hall in the same way.[77] Both bedchambers had minimal seating; two chairs at Tantallon, two forms at Castle Campbell.At Polnoon Castlethe Earl of Eglinton had a chamber with a silk bed and a by-bed, and the outer chamber had a cloth bed.[78]McKean suggested such suites were influenced by the plan of Stirling Castle (1538-40) itself influenced by French models, with an outer and innerchamber and bedchamber, and closet.He proposed a three room suite or apartment of hall, chamber of dais and bedchamber, which could be considered as a state apartment.However, the division of the chamber of dais accords with observations of architectural historians on the division of the 'great chamber'in England, and the correspondence of houses with royal palace architecture is not very close.[79]Scottish court institutions and ceremony may have resembled French or Burgundian practice, but the layout of the noble house in terms of room sequence, in most cases, was not so well defined as to invite close comparison.

Adjacent bedchambers could be accessed through one another, and called inner and outer, yet not form a suite leading from a hall. This seems to be the case for four bedchambers at Calder in 1566, which were probably accessed from a stair. There is no indication that the outer rooms were formal antechambers to the inner chambers. The Calder inventory did not list textiles, so gauging the relative opulence of these rooms is more difficult. However, the inner chambers were slightly better appointed with 'comptar' tables and more seats. These were the better rooms, and no-one used them as a through way.We could assume that the inner chamber was appointed for the person of highest rank and the outer chamber for the chief of their retinue.

Three bed chambers at Calder had more furniture in 1566, the Great Chamber, the Wide Chamber and the Gallery Chamber. Of these the most significant was the Wide Chamber, as

[76] Howard, *Early Tudor Country House*, 108.

[77] Campbell, 'The Castle Campbell Inventory', 299-315.

[78] GD3/6/36 no.5, 17 May 1623, Polnoon.

[79] McKean, *Scottish Chateau*, 67: Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 88-94, 129: Wemyss 'Aspiration and Ambition', 38-46 for a wider comparison between French, Scottish and English planning.

it was lit by a chandelier, and was the principal bed chamber. The Great Chamberwas probably Calder's 'chamber of dais' as it had two tables for eating, with three stools and a form. Calder's'Lord's chamber' had no bed and was a study or closetfor keeping papers. There was also an oratory.[80]By ranking the furnishings the main cluster of rooms at Calder can be discovered. The principal group was the hall; great chamber (for dining and a bedchamber); wide chamber (lord's bedchamber); lord's chamber (for study and business) and oratory (for prayer). Inventories do not often identify as many rooms in a suite and closets and lobbies were omitted if they contained no furnishing of note. Nevertheless, this kind of principal suite may have not have been so uncommon.

A late fifteenth-century ordinance mentions an English earl eating breakfast in a great chamber with a bed. The noble and his wife and any high-ranking guests ate at the foot of the bed in the great chamber after chapel.The lord also dined in the great chamber. Kim Phillips places this ordinance in the tradition of the Burgundian court.[81] If this is an accurate reflection of Burgundian manners as received in England, then the great chamber with bed and dining furniture found at Calder in 1566 and Tantallon in 1592 canalso be represented as the continuance of this fifteenth-century custom. This may better reflect the planning of Scottish houses (or at least one ideal) in the sixteenth century than adaption of features from the palaces of James V.

Large houses and castles could have complicated multiple circulations. The 1623 inventory of Eglinton Castle includes eighteen bedchambersand their names suggest that some were organised in suites.This inventory focussed exclusively on beds and fabrics, presenting a different kind of partial view to the Calder inventory.[82] Room names that suggest suitesincludea high inner chamber (with a chapel bed and a mirror provided with a canopy) and high outer chamber; an old great chamber and a mid-great chamber; and an inner and outer gallery chamber.The great chamber and mid great chamber were probably a divided chamber of dais leading from the great hall. The high chambers and the gallery suite were connected to the high and low galleries, and almost certainly stacked in the large tower.

[80]*Protocol Book Thomas Johnsoun*, 100-1.

[81] K. Philips, 'The invisible man: body and ritual in a fifteenth-century noble household', *Journal of Medieval History*, vol. 31, 2 (2005), 143-162, discussing British Library Harl. MS 6815, fols 25r–56v, 16r.

[82] NRS GD3/6/36/nos. 8,17, Eglinton 1623 & 1630.

As all the rooms listed at Eglinton were furnished with beds, it is difficult to think of the outer chambers in these inventories as drawing or withdrawing chambers, words already in use for reception rooms in similar positions. The outer chambers may have been lesser chambersleading off the galleries, with better bedchambers beyond, as suggested for Calder. Further work in evaluating the beds described could confirm this point.Eglinton Castle had bedchambers for the lord and lady, the lady's chamber was noted at Yester in 1579 and Brechin in 1627. Separate chambers are not always visible in inventories. It is likely that there were separate chambers for spouses in almost all aristocratic houses, as was usual in the royal palaces or in other countries.[83] Omissions from inventories and lists may be deliberate where inventoriesrepresent the husband or wife's goods only. An inventory of the earl of Mar (later Regent Moray) in 1562 mentions a comptar brought from the countess' chamber.[84] At Balloch and Finlarig the lady of Glenorchy had her own gallery and wardrobe, presumably to keep her goods separately, but the inventories do not mention the bedchambers.[85]The name of a deceased spouse might be omitted from an inventory, with the resultant tendency to disguise the lady's bedchamber when she had died first.

New houses had suites of bedchamber rooms for the lord, lady, their heir and guests. These bedchamber suites comprised the bedroom, an outer room or drawing room, and a closet or cabinet.[86]Although changes in room use are often characterised as providing an increase in privacy, use of the bedroom changed in a more nuanced way. Sixteenth-century inventories recordfewer seats in bedchambers than in the seventeenth century. The presence of a table and a form or forms reveal that the sixteenth-century bedchamber was used for dining, a function perhaps more usual in France than England according to Girouard.[87]While the use of the hall by a wider public declined,some bedchambers were for meetings and conversation, as the ample provision of seating implies.As the nobility displayed themselves less often in great halls to a wider public, they were available in their bedchamber to members of a more select group.

[83] Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces*, 133-5

[84] HMC *6th Report*, 648.

[85] Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth*, 233-4.

[86] M. McKeon, *Secret History of Domesticity : Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore 2006), 225.

[87] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 128.

Beds were bought with accessory furniture upholstered with the same fabric and trimmings, (or similar but more hard-wearing), described as 'suitable' or 'conformable' to the bed. At Dalkeith Castle in 1622 the smartly furnished Queens chamber had a bed of cloth of silver, with three matching stools and five chairs.[88]Often there were seven seats in strict hierarchy; an armed chair, two high-backed chairs, two low-backed chairs, with two stools. Seventeenth-century inventories do not suggest that people dined in these bedchambers, andat this time smaller dining rooms were provided.Perhaps such bedchambers were harbingers of drawing rooms. New habits of entertaining in the bedchamber came first, as is shown by a number of Scottish seventeenth-century bedchambers with mismatched seats. At Huntly Castle in 1648 chairs which matched the bed were crammed into bedchambers built in the 1550s, but at Bog o'Gight the chairs in the best bedchamber did not match the bed.[89]

Girouard pointed out that the closet attached to a bedroom was 'useful but not essential' in England, whereas in France they were regularly provided as the only private room.[90]However, closets or cabinets were not wholly private spaces for the resident of the bedchamber, being invited into the cabinet from a drawing room, or a bedchamber was an honour, many have at least two seats.[91]Rooms filled with precious objects, like Lothian's cabinet at Newbattle, orthe little green cabinet of Lady Home and Lady Moray at Donibristle in the 1630s, wereintended for recreative leisure and entertaining close friends.[92] At the Bog o'Gight, the lord's study had green hangings, a table and chair with a coffer and box of papers.[93] These spaces will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

Wemyss and McKean quote a 1632 letter from Robert Ker (later earl of Ancram) to his son the Earl of Lothian for its advice on remodelling Ancram Castle. The tower battlements should be retained'because times may change again' in which Wemyss and McKean see reference to Scottish architectural tradition. The letter also describes the process of dividing

[88] NRS GD90/2/52, Dalkeith Castle 1622.

[89] NRS GD44/49/13/1/1, Bog o'Gight inventory 1648.

[90] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 128.

[91] H. Ronnes, *Architecture and Elite Culture in the United Provinces, England and Ireland, 1500-1700* (Amsterdam, 2007), 134-135.

[92] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1, fol.11r., 'Ane not of thinges in my ladyis little grein cabinett'.

[93] NRS GD44/49/13/1/1, Bog o'Gight 1648.

and lengthening asequence of rooms in the tower according to English thinking.[94]Ker, a gentleman of the king's bedchamber, who lodged in a room off the gallery at Whitehall and had given the king a Rembrandt, made suggestions for changes according to London fashion, while respecting the inherent value of the existing building.[95] His letter makes it clear that Ancram Castle already had a dining room*and* a separate hall and so the house had been modernised in previous decades.

Ker's proposal was to lengthen the room sequence by bringing ground floor rooms into use. Rooms under the existing dining room (the old tower hall) wouldbe made into the earl's ordinary eating room. The earl's hall above would be cleared of its old long tables and converted into a 'fair chamber' with a round table. The round table would usually be folded away but let out for dining with some extraordinary friend.Ker advised a bed was not necessary in this fair chamber, though the earl might prefer it, and made suggestions for its position. Above the'fair chamber' should be the earl's bedchamber with a servant's bed beyond a partition. Above this, the old wardrobe could become a 'fine cabinet' for books and papers.

The 'fair chamber' proposed by Ker was awithdrawing room between the dining room and the bedchamber. It was to be a dining room for intimates only as occasion demanded. Ker did not encourage his son to put a bed in it, only as a contingency 'for lacke of roome, or your pleasure'with the implication that this was not part of the fashionable practise. There was no question of eating in the bedchamber above.The main spaces of the proposed sequence at Ancram, the public dining room, the 'fair chamber' as a drawing room, the bedchamber and cabinet correspond in number to the long-established French sequence of an apartment leading from the *salon*, the*antechambre*, *chambre*, and *cabinet*.Ker went on to suggest improvements to another part of the building 'with accesses in the fashion of this country or France.'[96] Ker writes from Londonand presumably by 'this country' he means England. The phrase may meanthe style of the two countries in conjunction rather than contradistinction,

[94]*Correspondence of the Earls of Ancram and Lothian*, vol.1, 62-3: McKean, *Scottish Chateau*, 189-190: Wemyss, 'Aspiration and Ambition', i, 4.

[95] O. Millar, 'The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651', *Walpole Society Volume*, 43 (1972).

[96]*Correspondence of the Earls of Ancram and Lothian*, i, 66.

perhapsidentifying the adoption of French styles and planning in England.[97] What Ker proposed would be an innovation in the tower-house at Ancram. The letter is evidence that Scots were not familiar with the French apartment in their in their own houses, however well-travelled they may have been.

Three more bedchamber suites with drawing rooms were recorded in this period. At Glamis in 1648 Lady Glamis' bed chamber had an antechamber called the tiled hall. The inventory tells us this arrangement was recent by describing another room as her former bedchamber.[98] At Hamilton Palace in 1647 the principal bedrooms shared one withdrawing room. As at Glamis this room was also called the tiled hall. It was reached from 'my lord's great dining room'. The two bedchambers both had cabinets. One bedchamber was that of the Duke of Hamilton, the other called the 'bedchalmer of the withdrawing roume'.[99]At Moray House by 1631, Mary, Countess of Home, the principal resident, had a bedchamber with two small subsidiary spaces, a green shelved cabinet and an inner chamber, a drawing room, and a cabinet. Her furnishings are discussed in detail in later chapters. Suites in Scotland laid out like those in French houseswere suitable for wholesale furnishing in the French manner.

4:5Conclusions

Beds were meant to be seen. New,expensive and fashionable beds and ancient expensive beds were deployed to signal the wealth, eminence and lineage of their owners. Lesser beds were chosen with no less care to maintain rank in the household. Inventory descriptions of beds give a glimpse of formal distinctions in the household with the hierarchy of elaboration calculated to preserve notions of rank and precedence. Inventory evidence connects with architectural planning which worked to demonstrate and construct power relationships.

Many of the best beds of the early-seventeenth century depended entirely on fabric with little exposed woodwork, and these constructions have not survived. Fabrics of the very best beds were described in detail in inventories, but there was no attempt to record patterns. The beds were acquired in a range of appropriate qualities. The expense of trimming, lace and appliqué work often outweighed the 'richness' of the fabric. Servants' beds sometimes lacked curtains

[97] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 126-8.

[98] Wemyss, 'Aspiration and Ambition', 141 sees the tiled hall as a dining room, citing Glamis MS. P639/90.

[99] Wemyss, 'Aspiration and Ambition', 147: Hamilton papers MS 12/1: R. K. Marshall, 'The furnishings of Hamilton Palace in the seventeenth century', *Review of Scottish Culture*, 3 (1987), 13–22.

and their bedding and mattresses were made from cheaper materials. There were fully enclosed wooden box-beds, some apparently of high status. Beds with elaborately-carved posts are not described in inventories, but they were probably not unusual judging by the rare survival of a bed at Crathes Castle dated 1597. Looking at the qualities of beds can help to untangle ideas about room planning, suites, apartments and clusters since inventories give strong clues about the relative prestige of bedchamber furnishing.

Seats were provided in bedchambers for guests. Access to these was more restricted than to the more public spaces of hall or gallery. Fewer guests entered the bed chambers, and these were people of status closer to the owners. Chambers with elaborate beds were used as reception rooms for this limited circle of guests. Reception in the bedchamber was presumably formal in character, and differed from the reception in hall. Beds were presumably made and elaborated in order to impress this more select audience. Drawing chambers are not found in Scottish inventories before 1630.

The closet or cabinet adjacent to a bedchamber provided an even more intimate space for entertainment, as well as a private space for the bedchamber occupant. Few of these spaces are found in the inventories consulted. This may be because the contents of such spaces were not legally relevant or in the view of the housekeeper, but probably these spaces were rare before 1650 in Scotland. Although Girouard thought closets ‘useful rather than essential’ and a post-1660 innovation in England,they are found in fashionable homes in England and Scotland in the 1630s.[100]Descriptions in the Moray inventories show that ladies in the 1630s had the equipment to prepare medicines and serve sweetmeats in their closet, that the space was decorated with pictures, and there were at least two stools, suggesting social activity.These activities are discussed in the following chapters.

[100] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 128, 135.

Chapter 5 Court Style after 1603

5:1 Introduction

Aristocratic material culture was affected by the Union of the Crowns in 1603.There were many points of contact; many Scots travelled to London, some had houses there, and Scots who had roles in government in London brought back the furniture they had bought for their lodgings at St James and Whitehall.[1] A number of aristocrats married English wives. This chapter examines the introduction of new furnishing types, room planning and use,and the display of collections which emulatedfashions at court, drawing on the inventories made by Mary Dudley (Sutton), dowager Countess of Home (d. 1644) which show that she brought this collecting culture to Scotland. New fashionsof collecting replaced a culture of magnificence which depended in part on the costume of ranked attendants.[2] First-rate paintings,antiquities, and sculptures were hard to obtain, and this was their prime value, asHenry Peacham admitted, 'the possession of such rarities by their dead costlinesse doth properly belong to Princes or rather to Princely minds'.[3] The exercise of connoisseurship constructed an exclusive taste and collections became a store of cultural capital of the kind described by Pierre Bourdieu as a technology of domination.[4]

James VI was anxious to further full incorporating union between Scotland and England. Cultural assimilation was fostered by deliberate policy. James VI encouraged Anglo-Scottish marriages to knit together the aristocracies of the two countries to further his vision.[5]Some of these marriages were celebrated at court with masques with texts promoting Anglo-Scottish union; in *Lord Hay's Masque* of 1607 Scottish men were depicted as thieves who stole English brides.[6] Apart from the immediate propaganda opportunity and the knitting together of the two aristocracies, these marriages could result in the bride setting up household and

[1] *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos*, xi-xii, 'moveables sent to my lord's chamber in St James', 1610: NRS GD150/2838/4 'For my lorde to goe to London of stuffe', this includes furniture belonging to William 7th Earl of Morton, his daughter-in-law Ann Villiers Lady Dalkeith, and son-in-law Lord Kinnoull at Whitehall.

[2] M. Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Pennsylvania, 2001), 17-18.

[3] H. Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, 104.

[4] P. Bourdieu, *Outlines of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge MA, 1977), 183-197.

[5] Brown, 'Aristocratic Finances', 64, 67-8.

[6] K. Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Farnham, 2009), 4-5, 66-7, 77.

bringing up their children in Scotland. At first the Countess of Home lived in Scotland; their children were born in Scotland, a midwife from England attended five of the Countess' seven pregnancies. It was expected that the future Earls of Home would be born in Scotland. Their son's English wife Grace Fane would live in Scotland from 1626 till his death in 1633.[7]Lady Home sought an English wife for her son and Scottish husbands for her daughters, a policy which may explain her residence in both countries. As a widow she continued to live in both countries; her will of 1638 made arrangements for the searching and burning of her papers by her trusted friends and housekeepers either in Scotland or in England

The poet William Lithgow noted Lady Home's marriage in verse, 'Strange! a Dame should from her soil remove'.[8]In 1617 David Hume of Godscroft celebrated the marriage as an example for the union, praising her achievements as a builder, in Latin verses to be recited to James VI at Dunglass Castle.[9] After describing the role of the Homes in border conflict, Godscroft praised Mary Dudley's virtues and her achievements as a builder, in restoring the palaces destroyed by the English;

Mentiar, aut nullis horrendam ducimus Anglam,
Iudice te: vultum respice, sive animum.
Nec fera miscemus truculento proelia Marte:
Sed colimus casti foedera sancta thori.
Hinc surgunt mihi structa palatia, diruit Angla
Quae quondam, melior iam struit Angla manus
Hinc quam fausta tibi procederet unio, si sic
Exemplo saperes, insula tota, meo.[10]

Call me a liar, lest we think an English woman horrid,
Judge for yourself, see face and soul,
We aren't linked in the grim combat of savage Mars.

[7] NRAS 217 box 5, 294, 295, 296, 302, letters from the Countess of Westmorland to Grace Fane: NLS Acc. 14547, will of the Countess of Home: TNA PROB 11/272/611.

[8] W. Lithgow, *The Pilgrims Farewell to his Native Country of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1618).

[9] J. Nichols, *Progresses King James the First*, 3, (1828), 305: *The Muses Welcome* (Edinburgh, 1618), 14: D. Hume, *Regi Suo, Post Bis Septennium in Patriam Ex Anglia Redeunti, Scotiæ Gratulatio* (Edinburgh, 1617)

[10]*The Muses Welcome*, 14

But cultivate the pure holy league of our bed.
So now they raise for me buildings, palaces which once the English
destroyed, directed by her better English hand.
Thus for you the happy union would advance,
If, throughout the whole island, you appreciated my example.

Godscroft saw their marriage as exemplary for desired integration. Underlying his poem was the historical irony that her grandfather Edward Sutton Lord Dudley had been the captain of the captured Hume Castle in 1548 during the Rough Wooing.[11]The poem seems to attribute building work at Dunglass to her, in her widowhood she built a house in Edinburgh's Canongate, now called Moray House.

Lady Home kept records of her possessions in her houses in England in Scotland. These differ from contemporary inventories; their detail and coverage is unusually rich, and she used themover the decade to record further purchases and the movement of furnishings between houses in England and Scotland. They were intended from the outset for this purpose: booklets of around sixty folios, initially written only on the recto pages, with the public rooms in the first half and the offices at the end, leaving ample space for additions and marginal notes. The initial texts were written by a Scottish hand in Scots orthography, although at her dictation, referring for instance to 'my son' and 'my daughter's picture'. These booklets survive for Moray House (1631 – 1646), Floors Castle (1624 – 1642), Twickenham Park (1624 – 1640), and Donibristle House (1630s). They make reference to 'compts' made for Dunglass Castle and a London townhouse in Aldersgate, which do not survive. She requested that her other papers be burnt at her death, and it seems that this request was carried out.[12]

This chapter outlines the cultural activities of Mary Dudley's family connections, especially the Haringtons, which influenced her strategy of acquiring, building and furnishing houses and assimilation of court culture. The Countess had an art collection, though her paintings were relatively inexpensive. Her collection reflected the taste recorded of a small group of

[11] W. Patten, *The Expedition into Scotland, 1547* (London, 1548).

[12] The inventories are in the papers of the Earls of Moray, NRAS 217 box 5: NLS MS. Acc. 14547: I have not discovered any letters she sent in other collections.

courtiers in England, sometimes called the 'Whitehall connoisseurs', the great collectors such as the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Buckingham, and the 2nd Marquess of Hamilton.[13] Her reception rooms included Italianate chairs, marble tables, and day couches. Such furnishings and rooms suitable for them were uncommon or novel in England and are not conspicuous in other Scottish inventories of the period.

5:2 Mary Dudley and Alexander 2nd Earl of Home: an Anglo-Scottish union

Mary Dudley was the daughter of Edward Sutton, 9th Lord Dudley and Theodosia Harington (d.1649) daughter of Sir James Harington of Exton (d.1592). She, her mother and her sister Anne used 'Dudley' as a surname. Mary married the widowed Alexander, 1st Earl of Home on 11 July 1605.[14]The marriage may have been arranged by her Harington relations who had gained the confidence of Anna of Denmark, and may have obtained some advantage by it.[15]Keith Brown noted this marriage as the first marriage of a Scot to the eldest daughter of an English lord, as part of a program of Anglicization.[16] The Earl of Home was wealthy amongst Scottish earls, at his death in 1619 a net creditor who was owed £36, 274 Scots.[17]

While some Anglo-Scottish marriages were financially advantageous to Scottish husbands, Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley (1567-1643) was burdened by debt, and it is unlikely that the Earl of Home gained financially.[18] Dudley had maintained a second family with Elizabeth

[13] D. Kurtz, 'Concept of the Classical Past, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 20, 2, (2008), pp. 89-204, 199: G. Akrigg, 'The Whitehall Connoisseurs' in *Jacobean Pageant, Court of King James I* (1962), ch.22: J. Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs* (New Haven, 1994), 13: D. Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven, 1986).

[14]Maureen M. Meikle, 'Home, Alexander, first earl of Home (*c.*1566–1619)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13637, accessed 26 Feb 2015].

[15] J. Leeds Barroll, *Anne of Denmark, a Cultural Biography* (Pennsylvania, 2001), 44-5.

[16] K. Brown, 'The Scottish Aristocracy Anglicisation and the Court, 1603-38' *Historical Journal* 36.3 (Sept. 1993), pp. 543-76, p. 551.

[17] K. Brown, 'Noble indebtedness in Scotland between the Reformation and the Revolution', *Historical Research*, vol. 62 no. 149 (October 1989), pp. 260-275, p.265: NRS, CC8/8/51, 20 March 1621.

[18] Simon Adams, 'Sutton , Edward, fourth Baron Dudley (c.1515–1586)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press*, 2004; online edn, Sept 2015 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8148, accessed 23 Oct 2015].

Tomlinson and was estranged from Theodosia Harington.[19] In 1597 Mary's younger brother Ferdinando and her sister Anne were lodged in Clerkenwell, as wards of their aunt Elizabeth Harington and uncle Edward Montagu of Boughton. Montagu may have had a hand in Mary Dudley's upbringing, and her inventories record continuing connections with the Montagu family.[20]It is possible too that Mary lodged with Margaret Russell Countess of Cumberland. Lady Anne Clifford wrote that Marywas her old companion and their mothers were friends.[21]Lady Home kept 'my Ladie Cumberlands' picture.[22]Cumberland was interested in physic and alchemy and may have fostered Mary's interest. In 1616 sheleft Theodosia her coach and horses, £10 to her younger daughter Margaret (Hobart), and a dozen pearl buttons to Theodosia's sister Lady Hastings, but did not leave anything to Lady Home, suggesting they were not close.[23]

Anne Clifford also recorded meetingLady Home with Lucy Harington,Countess of Bedford,at court with Anna of Denmark. Lady Home did not have a position at court.[24]James, 1st Earl of Home was not prominent in politics or at court after the union although he enjoyed a large pension. He was lieutenant over the Scottish marches until 1607, when his Catholicism lost him this post, and he was eclipsed by a cousin, George, Earl of Dunbar. Home had no obvious ties to the court favourites Somerset or Buckingham, who led new fashions in collecting.[25]After his death in 1619 at their house in Channel Row, Lady Home continued to live in London, after 1624 with a house in Aldersgate Street and at Twickenham Park, though spending most of the year in Scotland. She travelled abroad with her son, James, 2nd Earl of

[19]*Acts of the Privy Council*, vol. 27, 325-8: 'DUDLEY, alias SUTTON, Edward (1567-1643), of Dudley Castle, Staffs.' *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603*, ed. P.W. Hasler, 1981.

[20] Sir Charles Montagu assisted Theodosia Harington with the administration of Twickenham House, NRAS 217 box 5 no.13, fol.20r, 'Received by John Young from Sir Charles Montagu as my lady dudlyes letteris beir xxii peists of which he has given his tikket': Lady Home sold tapestry to Lady Manchester.

[21]K. Acheson ed., *The Memoir and Diary of Anne Clifford 1616-1619* (Broadview 2007), 165, 167, 176.

[22] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5, fol.6r, 'my Ladie Cumberlands picture' added to the gallery at Moray House

[23] G. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford* (Kendal 1922), 40: TNA PROB 11/128/73.

[24]Acheson, *The Memoir and Diary of Anne Clifford 1616-1619*, 91-2.

[25] Meikle, 'Home, Alexander, first earl of Home (*c.*1566–1619)'

Home three times.[26] She was wealthy enough to lend £7,280 Scots for the Scottish army in Ireland in 1641 and her legacy in 1644 was estimated at £30,000 Sterling.[27]

It is clear from the inventories that she moved furnishings between her houses. She also carried some the prized furnishings of her bedchamber cabinet when she moved between London and Edinburgh. Maintaining a house in London helped Lady Home keep up her court connections and served her goal of organising her son's successive marriages to English aristocrats. In 1622 James, 2nd Earl of Home (1607 - 1633) married Catherine Cary (1608-1625), a daughter of Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland. Secondly, in 1627 James married Grace Fane (1604-1633), a daughter of Francis, Earl of Westmorland.[28]After the deaths of Grace and James, the Countess of Westmorland unsuccessfully sued for his property.[29] Her daughters married in Scotland, Margaret to Lord Doune, later Earl of Moray, and Anne to John Maitland, later Duke of Lauderdale. In 1619, Patrick Hannay dedicated his thoughts on marriage, *A Happy Husband, or Directions for a Maide to choose her Mate*, to Margaret, perhaps alluding to Lady Home's ventures in the marriage market.

David Hume of Godscroft's poem represents Mary Dudley as a builder. In London, the countess was a patron of English master mason Nicholas Stone. Stone recorded supplying a fireplace for her house in Aldersgate in 1637 commissioned by the designer Isaac de Caus.[30] This house, like her house in Edinburgh, had a fashionable balcony.[31] Sherecorded in her will her discussion with Stone in his workshop in Long Acre street about her tomb. The tomb in the Home family chapel at Dunglass would have commemorated herself, her husband and son with marble busts, andfour children who died as infants with marble slabs.[32]The project was not realised because Stone predeceased her.

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[26]*HMC, 12th Report Part 8, Athole & Home* (London, 1891), 106-7: *HMC Milne Home* (London, 1902), 87-89.

[27]*The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2013), 1644/6/160. Date accessed: 27 December 2013: NLS MS. Acc. 14547.

[28] K. Brown, 'Anglicisation', 572: J. Paul, *Scots Peerage* vol.4 (Edinburgh, D. Douglas, 1904-14.), 463-7: Northampton Record Office, WA(A) box 1 /Parcel X/no. 3.

[29]*Earl of Stirling's Register* (Edinburgh, 1884), 737.

[30] W. Spiers ed., 'Note-book and account book of Nicolas Stone', *Walpole Society Volume*, 7 (1919), 117.

[31] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 9, 'in the chamber within the belconie roome of Aldersgat street'.

[32] NLS MS.14547, fol. 10-14.

In Scotland sheemployed the royal master mason William Wallace, owing him £240 in 1632, probably for work on Moray House in the Canongate.[33] In June 1630 the Chancellor Kinnoull rewarded her masons there with drinksilver.[34] The surviving plaster ceilings at Moray House were made by the same craftsmen who worked on other important buildings in Lothian.[35]An English plasterer John White was killed at Dunglass Castle in 1640. Wallace and White had worked at Winton House in East Lothian.[36]There is no reason to suppose that Stone or De Caus directly contributed to Moray House or its gardens, although the her commissions to Scottish craftsmen were likely to be influenced by her English experience. Her buildings were probably indistinguishable in execution from other works of the period. Aonghus MacKechnie, writing on the architectural culture of Scotland and the master of work James Murray, saw no amalgamation with English court architecture, or abandonment of a robust national architecture, which remained 'open to influence by other national styles including the English'.[37]

Building the house in the Canongate served a dynastic ambition for the countess, when she began she would have assumed that her son continue the line, and 'Home House' (as it would have been) would be the Edinburgh base of the family. The initial furnishings, as represented in the 1631 inventory were acquired to suit this ambition, in parallel with the furnishing of the caput, Dunglass Castle in East Lothian. When she died in 1644 her houses were inherited jointly by her daughters. The Edinburgh house became 'Moray House' and the Aldersgate and Highgate houses both became known as Lauderdale House.

Mary Dudley's connections to court circles, her artistic patronage, and investment in property, the marriages of her son, and perhaps even her own marriage to the Earl of Home, were facilitated and determined by her mother's family, the Haringtons of Exton. The

[33] NRS CC8/8/56, p.81: *Accounts of the Masters of Work*, vol. 2, lxx.

[34] NRS GD150/3236/25.

[35] W. Napier, 'Kinship and Politics in the Art of Plaster Decoration,' unpublished Dundee PhD, 2012, 160-2, 169-70.

[36]W. Lithgow, *A briefe and summarie discourse upon that disaster at Dunglasse. Anno 1640. the penult of August* (Edinburgh, 1640): *HMC 2nd Report and Appendix*, (London, 1874), 199, 'Jhone Quhytte'.

[37] K. Brown, 'Anglicisation' 551-2 : A. MacKechnie, 'James VI's Architects', in J. Goodare & M. Lynch ed., *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 2000), 168: A. MacKechnie, 'Scots court architecture of the early 17th century : the absentee-court architecture of Sir James Murray of Kilbaberton, William Wallace and their circle, in the early 17th century', unpublished Edinburgh PhD thesis, 1994, 24-5, 44, 192, 318.

Countess of Home self-identified as a Harington – her inventories mention hangings and furnishing bought from Harington House, and in the mid-1630s Lady Home decorated the fireplaces of her Edinburgh house with tiles painted with the Harington knot and displayed a tablecloth embroidered with Harington knots in her principal reception room. Lady Home's taste and acquisitions in furnishing would have been fostered by her first cousin Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford (d.1627), chief of the ladies in waiting to Anne of Denmark.[38] Bedford introduced her younger cousin to court circles, and was perhaps been instrumental in organising her marriage in 1605. In 1621 Lady Home bought Twickenham Park from a relation of the Countess of Bedford, perhaps to help her cousin's financial position.[39] She kept a little pendant in the 'fashion of a peascod [pea pod] which was a token of my deare lord Bedford'.[40]

The Haringtons benefited from their reputation for adherence to the reformed faith and abhorrence of Catholicism.[41]The Earl of Home was a Catholic andhis marriage to Mary Dudley may have been suggested by the Haringtons and encouraged by the King on the basis of religious balance and check for his former companion, whose religion now excluded him from diplomatic employment.[42]Princess Elizabeth was lodged with John Harington of Exton at Coombe Abbey from 1603 to 1608. Bedford's brother, John Harington, was schooled with Prince Henry. Mary Dudley's younger sister, Anna Dudley, gained a place as a lady in waiting to Princess Elizabeth at Coombe Abbey.[43]She was the subject of an emblem in Henry Peacham's *Minerva Brittania*, an anagram of her name, 'el'nuda Diana' suggested the subject of Diana and Actaeon, apparently referring to her hard work in Elizabeth's service.[44]Anna became Elizabeth's chief lady of honour and married Hans Meinhard, Count of Schomberg,

[38] Nichols, *Progresses of James the First*, vol. 1, 168, 174, 190: Edmund Howe's chronicles; *Annales of John Stow continued* (Richard Meighen, London, 1631), 823: M. Byard, The Trade of Courtiership, the Countess of Bedford' *History Today* 29.1 (January 1979), pp. 20-9: H. M. Payne, 'Aristocratic Women at the Jacobean Court', PhD thesis, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 2001, 24-7.

[39] Payne, 'Aristocratic Women at the Jacobean Court' 217-8.

[40] TNA PROB 11/272/611, will of 'Maria Soton', Countess of Home.

[41] R. Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales* (London, 1986), 43.

[42] Payne, 'Aristocratic Women' 29.

[43] M. Golzier, *Marshal Schomberg, 1615-1690* (Sussex, 2005), 15.

[44] H. Peacham, *Minerva Brittania* (London 1612), 175.

master of Frederick's household in 1615, dying of puerperal fever later that year.[45]Theodosia Dudley's niece Elizabeth Dudley (later the Countess of Löwenstein), became a lifetime companion of the Queen of Bohemia. Theodosia left her 'noble friend and neece' a legacy in her will, and the introduction of this obscure relation into the Princess' household shows how closely Theodosia maintained her family connection.[46]Lady Löwenstein was a friend of Constantijn Huygens the elder, and often returned to London in the exiled Queen's service, but no further record of any connexion with Lady Home has been discovered.[47]

Lady Home's cousin, Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford has been described as 'easily the most important patroness of the Jacobean court, except for Queen Anne herself'.[48] Bedford was an organiser of the entertainments and masques which promoted Stuart policy. Shewas otherwise reputed to be a matchmaker.[49]Helen Payne recently evaluated the limits of Bedford's influence, but did not include the Home or Schomberg marriage in her evaluation of Bedford's matchmaking.[50]Bedford's activities as patron of material culture have been described by Karen Hearn.[51] She employed Nicolas Stone, and the painters Daniel Mytens, Isaac Oliver and Nathaniel Bacon, and wished to acquire paintings by Holbein.Bedford was well-connected and a conduit of Anna's patronage, hence the high number of literary works dedicated to her, but she lacked the funds of leading art collectors like Arundel, Somerset or Buckingham, the 'Whitehall connoisseurs'. Bedford would have been a continuing influence on her younger cousin until her death in 1627 and may well have fostered the Countess of Home'sentrée to furnishing and picture collecting.

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[45] M. Green, *Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia* (London, 1909), 10, 44, 46, 61-2, 108: N. Akkermann, *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 2011), 30, 802, 999.

[46] TNA PROB 11/215/234, will of Theodosia Harington, 1649.

[47] L. Jardine, *Temptation in the Archives* (London, 2015), 14, 50, 114.

[48] B. Lewalski, 'Lucy Countess of Bedford, Images of Jacobean Courtier and Patroness' in K. Sharpe & S. Zwicker ed., *Politics of Discourse, Seventeenth century England* (Los Angeles 1987), 52-77.

[49] K. Curran, 'Erotic Policy: King James, Thomas Campion, and the Rhetoric of Anglo-Scottish Marriage' *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 7 no. 1 (University of Pennsylvania 2007), 55-77.

[50] Payne, 'Aristocratic Women at the Jacobean Court' 172-7, 179.

[51] K. Hearn, 'A question of Judgement: Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford as Art Patron & Collector' in Chaney ed., *Evolution of English Collecting*, 221-239: *The private correspondence of Jane, Lady Cornwallis, 1613–1644*, ed. Lord Braybrooke (London 1842), pp. 50-1: J. Leeds Barroll, *Anne of Denmark, a Cultural Biography*, 54-5, 112.

The inventory of Anne's own Denmark House in 1619 includes someporcelain, Italianate, or oriental itemswhich were becoming fashionable in court circles at the time of her death.[52]However, the kind of furniture represented in the Moray House inventory is commensurate with its later date, from 1631 onwards, and reflects the taste of the court of Charles and Henrietta Maria. Three candle-brackets with lion's heads first noted in 1638 were described as having belonged to the Queen Mother (of France), Marie de' Medici.[53] How these came to the Countess of Home was not recorded, but even if they had been sold by the Queen Mother to a London goldsmith the Countess' purchase is proof of her eager following of court culture.

5:3 Italian chairs, paintings, and marble tables

Lady Home's inventories of Floors Castle and Twickenham Park lack paintings and ornaments, furnishings whichreveal the modern style. The Moray House inventory lists items brought from Aldersgate, and it is known that she let the London house in 1630 and 1635.[54] Some furnishings, particularly the personal and precious items in her cabinet travelled between her townhouses in the two capital cities. Furnishings were suited to rooms in either townhouse which may have been of similar proportions. Cabinet pieces and paintings were not taken to country residences. There are records of her sojourn in London in the years 1624/5, 1626, 1634, 1636, 1638, 1640, 1643 and in 1644 when she also visited her mother in Norwich.[55]

Hangings were exchanged between houses during phases of redecorationin 1636 and 1638. She intended the inventories to record these movements. Eventually the system became unwieldy and in 1642 she recorded her frustration that the records could not be reconciled with room contentsand her 'book of many sundry particular things'.[56]The inventories are

[52]M. W. T. Payne, 'An inventory of Queen Anne of Denmark's 'ornaments, furniture, householde stuffe, and other parcells' at Denmark House, 1619,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, 13.1, (2001), pp. 23-44, 38.

[53] NRAS 217 box 5 no.5, fol.7v., 'Fyve silver arms with lyons heads three of which were Queene Mothers', the other two were made in 1638, no.5, fol.41r.

[54] A.J. Loomie, C*eremonies of Charles I: the note books of John Finet* (New York 1987), 73, 87: *CSP Dom, Charles I, 1635*, 458.

[55]*A Diary of the Public Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hope* (Edinburgh, 1843), 87, 195, 203: NRAS 217 box 5 no. 13, Twickenham inventory.

[56] NRAS 217, box 5 no. 12, inventory of Floors.

unusual in their focus on the house 'frontstage' – there was originally no mention of table and bed-linen – showing her particular interest in the prestigious and moveable furnishings of the reception rooms. Moray House had a surprising number of reception rooms – more than any other Scottish house recorded in the period.Multiple reception rooms were a feature of contemporary aristocratic London townhouses like the Countess of Arundel's Tart Hall where these rooms were used for dining, banqueting, conversation, board games, and viewing art, and similar activities were available inside Moray House and in two garden banqueting houses, (fig. 5:1).[57] The planning and appointment of these rooms may reflect a female household and the reception of female company. The functions of these rooms are discussed in Chapter Nine.These reception rooms were all furnished with couch beds. The role of these couches is examined in Chapter Eight. Equipment for making medicines, the practice of physic, was also conspicuous in these rooms, and these pursuits are described in Chapter Seven.

The Moray House inventory lists about forty-five paintings. Thirty were in the gallery apparently making it a picture gallery in the modern sense of a collection of paintings, as sixteenth-century galleries in Scotland and England were rarely hung with paintings, unless family portraits or series of portraits of the illustrious.[58]Rooms called galleries were often at the top of the house, and designed for exercise or leisure.[59]Anna of Denmark had a gallery of paintings by 1611.[60]The only other contemporary Scottish long gallery known to have been decorated with pictures was at Aberdour Castle with forty-six paintings in 1647.[61]However, the Moray House gallery does not seem to have been very long, judging by the proportions in a sketch plan of 1844.[62]It may have a room for leisure with a large number of small cabinet paintings.

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[57] E. Chew, 'The Countess of Arundel and Tart Hall', in Chaney, *Evolution of English Collecting*, 285-314, 299.

[58]R. Coope. 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', *Architectural History*, vol. 29, (1986), pp. 42-74, 62.

[59] C. McKean, *Scottish Chateau*, 169-174.

[60] K. Hearn, 'A question of Judgement: Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford', 226.

[61]*RCAHMS Eleventh report with inventory of monuments and constructions in the counties of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan* (Edinburgh, 1933) 17-21: NRS GD150/2843 nos. 1 & 2, inventories of Aberdour.

[62] RCAHMS Sime Album.

There was equipment for games with a billiard table and a set of tables for chess and backgammon, activities which were typical in Scottish galleries and halls, and this leisure equipment is discussed in Chapter Six. Otherfurnishings included a marble table, a table of China work, eight chairs of the Italian fashion, and a couch. Similar pieces can be found in the inventories of the 'Whitehall connoisseurs'.As there were no other chairs the Italian chairs must have served the backgammon and card players, but wereprobably also used around the marble tablefor sweetmeat banquets. The two summer houses were also called banqueting houses in the inventory and both were furnished with marble tables (Fig. 5:1).

Fig. 5:1 Banqueting or summer house at Moray House (RCAHMS)

'Item in the summer hous in the gairden ane reid spreckillit marbill tabill cost 53s-4d'[63]

The inventory gives purchase prices in sterling for the paintings but it is not clear when the pictures were acquired. None were priced at more than £4. Nine small pictures were hung in the window reveals, eight cost 2s-6d each, the ninth a little *Lucretia*cost five shillings. These pictures must have been inexpensive copies and small cabinet pictures, and their prices had

[63] NRAS 217 box 5 no.5, fol.47r, 'Ane not of thingis in the gairden'.

no direct relationship to the art market for authentic masterpieces.[64]Only two purchases of pictures were detailed; one at the Royal Exchange from a Frenchman in 1634, and twofrom the artist George Geldorp, a copyist and dealer.[65]A group of contemporary portraits of courtiers at Darnaway Castle, listed in the inventory, are copies after Antony van Dyck by a lesser associate like Remigius van Leemput.[66] This suggests that the other works were derivative too.

Sixteen paintings at Moray House came from Sir Everard Digby.Digby was a gunpowder plot conspirator executed in 1606. His role had been to kidnap Princess Elizabeth from the Harington household at Coombe Abbey near Coventry, and declare her queen. Some of his goods were sold by the Sheriff of Buckinghamshire and others awarded to two Scottish gentlemen of the bedchamber.[67]These pictures, noted for their provenance rather than their subjects, commemorated the failure of the gunpowder plot and the role of the Harington family in keeping the Princess safe.

Two paintings were described as Dutch; a 'duche pickter of a foull hureing a woman',a *Leda and the Swan*, and the 'duche pickter q[uhai]r they are sliding upone ice', a winter scene in the manner of HendrickAvercamp. Most of the subjects were female; a 'gryt fair' *Lucretia* had cost twenty five shillings;*Juno* as an allegory of pride or vanity, 'ane gryt pickter of ane womane leading of pecockis'; the Turkish woman; the woman plaiting her hair; the woman with a veil; the fairy and the wench, the country wench and so on.The conclusion must be that Lady Home had acquired these paintings in her widowhood and they formed a self-commentary on her virtuous state.

In herwill the countess called the busts of her family to be carved by Nicolas Stone for her tomb 'pictures'. Some items described as pictures in the inventory were sculptures; a 'blak pickter' of *Lucretia*which cost 14 shillings was a sculpture in bronze, with the black patination usual at the time. Other brass 'picktors' were reliefs or medallions. Two pieces

[64]Portier, 'Prices Paid for Italian Pictures in the Stuart Age', 53-69, 55, 61.

[65] NRAS 217 box 5 nos 5 fol.11: box 5. no.6, fol.4v: L. H. Cust, 'Geldorp, George (*d.* 1665)', rev. P. G. Matthews, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10507, accessed 30 July 2014].

[66]K. Hearn, *Van Dyck and Britain* (London, 2009), 176.

[67]*HMC Salisbury Hatfield,* vol. 17, 21 Nov. 1605.

brought to the gallery from London in 1646 were made by Francesco Fanelli, an Italian artist working mostly for the court. These were a St George and Dragon and a decorative plate:

> Item ane figure in brasse done be Singeur Fonelio ane Italian of St George upon horse backe killing of ane dragon standing upon ane little pettie stole of Ebenee and ane wenscott box to put it in
> Item ane peice of Italiane plate maid lykwise by Singeur Fonelio.[68]

In 1639 Charles had a similar St George at Whitehallamong statues placed around the cabinet room, also on a 'black ebbone wooden peddistall'.[69]A surviving statue of Mercury bought for the fountain at Donibristle may be attributed to Hubert le Sueur. It may have been a replica of that made for Henrietta Maria's garden at Somerset House.[70] It cost £65 in 1639amongst a number of London purchases for Donibristle which included beds, an alembic and still, a small brass Hercules that cost £4, and a tapestry of Pompey and Caesar in four scenes costing £218.[71]The inventory specifies that Lady Home bought flower-pots to place around the fountain, and she and her daughter were presumably instrumental in the purchase of the Mercury.Purchase of the works of Fanelli and Le Sueur was perhaps a more accessible way into court culture, more readily obtainable than the paintings of great masters.

The Moray House and Donibristle inventories feature dummy board portraits called 'standing pictures'. These were painted in London. The*Standing picture of a man playing on the viol* in the Moray House gallery which cost 29s had a companion in the *Standing picture of a woman playing on the lute*in the north balcony room. A*Chamber maid* in the bedchamber cabinet cost 32s-6d. A *Shepherdess with a basket of flowers on her shoulder* which cost 35s in 1634 echoed the taste for pastoral in court masques.[72] Five standing pictures in the garden balcony room depicted family members; Margaret, Lady Moray, and Anne Home, Lady Maitland,

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[68] NRAS 217 box 5 no.5, fol. 20.

[69] D. Howarth, 'Charles I, Sculpture and Sculptor's' in A. MacGregor ed., *The Late King's Goods*, (Oxford, 1989), 93, fig 43: O. Millar, 'Abraham Van Der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I' *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 37 (1958-1960), 95.

[70]C. Avery,'Hubert Le Sueur, The 'Unworthy Praxiteles' of King Charles I', *The Volume of the Walpole Society,* vol. 48 (1980-1982), 151-3.

[71] NRAS 217 box 5 no.1, fols. 15-17.

[72] NRAS 217 box 5 no.6, fol.3r, placed in Lady Home's drawing chamber at Donibristle.

Margaret's two children, and the dwarf Meg Candie (a servant who had a bed in the attic of Moray House). These fashionable objects were made in London: William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, had two 'standinge pictures' of his children in the gallery at Salisbury House in 1629. One depicted Master Robert and the other Lady Diana (1622-1633).[73]The group of standing family portraits in the garden balcony room may indicate that this room was used for visits to the Moray family, an idea discussed in Chapter Nine.

Fig. 5:2 Dummy board portrait of a boy with an arrow, (V&A CIRC.605-1965)

The paintings included religious subjects. There was a Holy Family and saints including *Sebastian* and*Peter in Prison*. A list of 'my ladyes closet paintings' (in an English hand) includes several more religious subjects which might suggest that religious paintings were more densely hung at the London house. These may not necessarily have offended Calvinist sensibilities in Scotland since the fault to be censured was the act of idolatrous worship rather than possession of images, or perhaps the English countess was not subjected to the same scrutiny as ordinary townsfolk.Walter Cope who bought pictures for Prince Henryhad judged Venetian (and Catholic) art as 'not fitting for a place of gravitie.'[74] The subjects of Lady Homes's pictures could all be found in the royal collection in 1639.[75]

[73]*HMC Salisbury Hatfield*, vol. 22, 251: M. Guerci, 'Salisbury House in London, 1599-1694: The Strand Palace of Sir Robert Cecil', *Architectural History*, vol. 52 (2009), pp. 31-78.

[74] T Wilks, 'The Picture Collection of the Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset reconsidered,' *Journal of the History of Collections*, 1 (1989), pp. 167-77.

[75] O. Millar, 'Abraham Van Der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 37, (1958-1960).

The Countess' own religious sympathies are unclear: her husband had been a Catholic. However the Donibristle inventories record volumes of puritan sermons of the 1620s and 1630s which were probably the books noted in her cabinet. Her family were associated with militant Protestantism and efforts to recover the Palatinate. In this light, her pictures seem more likely to reflect fashion than a confessional attitude. Public attitudes to religious pictures in collections in Scotland are unknown since there were few art collections in 1630s and 1640s, and contemporary responses to these are unrecorded. Picture collecting on this scale, with such variety of subjects was a recent activity in Scotland.

Aristocrats, with few exceptions, had previously only collected portraits which celebrated lineage and alliance. The new collecting was a taste acquiredin emulation of great courtiers. The greatest art collections like the Duke of Buckingham's were believed to enhance his diplomatic power and prestige.[76]Art collecting became a shared interestand rivalry amongst the court circle. David Howarth has highlighted the collecting of the Earl of Arundel and his wife, Aletheia Talbot, who had her own collection and aspects of her inventories are reflected in the Moray House inventory. Aletheia was perhaps inspired by her grandmother Bess of Hardwick, she danced at court and travelled to Italy with Inigo Jones who subsequently designed interiors for their house at Greenwich and a gallery wing at Arundel House to display their collections. Her bedchamber at Tart Hall was hung with Indian *pintado* like Lady Home's in Edinburgh.[77]Lady Home as a widow may have emulated fashion leaders like Lady Arundel.

Some of the pioneers of seventeenth-century art collecting were Scots, using the services of diplomats to form their collections. However, they kept their paintings in London. Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset acquired as many as 100 paintings between 1611 and 1615 which he kept at Whitehall. His collection was formed in the context of Prince Henry's activity as art collector, he employed William Trumbull, a diplomat in Brussels, and the ambassador Dudley Carleton (Viscount Dorchester) in Venice to collect pictures.[78]The 2nd Marquis of Hamilton exchanged pictures with the Duke of Buckingham and married his niece.

[76] F. Haskell, 'Charles I's collection of pictures', in A. MacGregor ed., *The Late King's Goods* (Oxford 1989), 206-8.

[77] D. Howarth, 'The Patronage and Collecting of Aletheia Countess of Arundel 1606 -1654', *Journal of the History of Collections* (1998) 10 (2): pp. 125-137, 125, 134.

[78] Wilks, 'Picture Collection of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset', 167-77.

Hamilton's brother-in-law, Basil Feilding, a diplomat in Venice,bought pictures for him in Italy.[79]Hamilton for a time kept his pictures at Harington House, the house of Lady Home's cousin Lucy, Countess of Bedford.[80]The 3rd Marquis of Hamilton continued collecting, furnishing Wallingford House on the Strand with paintings. Hamilton and Somerset's collections were kept at their London houses, and not displayed in Scottish houses. The collection of William,Marquis of Lothian was formed later in the 1640s and displayed at Newbattle Abbey in East Lothian.[81]

William Douglas, 7th Earl of Morton and treasurer of Scotland can be identified as an early collector of paintings. He built a gallery wing at Aberdour Castle in Fife around 1632, over a stable, a feature which may suggest a French connection.[82] There were forty-six pictures in this gallery in 1647.[83] Morton travelled to London frequently on court business and had an obvious connection to the 'Whitehall connoisseurs', as his son had married the Duke of Buckingham's niece, Anne Villiers in 1627.[84] The gallery furniture included two marble tables and three 'China' chairs. When required at court, Morton took furniture from Aberdour to Whitehall.[85] The acquisition of pictures for Aberdour without other Italianate accessorizing furniture may highlight a difference between the influences on Morton and Lady Home, perhaps that the Countess was more sensitive to detail and more committed to emulating a court style in her townhouses, than the Earl in his country seat.

The generally modest prices of paintings in Moray House inventory, which appear to be purchase prices, show that most of these paintings were probably small cabinet copies of famous compositions.The paintings were a reflection of London collecting and connoisseurship – a kind of homage to high fashion. If so the nature of this art market is little studied or understood. The countess also had pictures in her Aldersgate cabinet; one list is

[79] P. McEvansoneya, 'An Unpublished Inventory of the Hamilton collection in the 1620s,' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 134 no. 1073 (August 1992), 524-6.

[80] Hearn, 'A question of Judgement: Lucy Harington, Countess of Bedford', 228.

[81] Haskell, 'Charles I's collection of pictures', 208.

[82] Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter à Paris*, 310-359.

[83] NRS GD150/2843 no.2.

[84] J. R. M. Sizer, 'Douglas, William, seventh earl of Morton (1582–1648)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7933, accessed 6 Jan 2014]: M. Apted, *Aberdour Castle*, (1978).

[85] NRS GD150/2383, nos. 1,2, 4, 7, inventories of Aberdour Castle.

headed ‘in the cabinet in the Canongate that is not set down in the cabinet at Aldersgate’, another ‘Pictures in my Ladyes closet’.[86] Uncertainty over the location of items in the inventories and executory papers shows thatpaintings and accessories travelled with her betweenAldersgate and Edinburgh, and packing crates for the pictures were kept in wardrobe at Moray House. She may have regarded her collection as a unity, her pictures and cabinet things, rather than the furnishing of a particular room or house. The inventories demonstrate that the Edinburgh and London houses were furnished alike, there was more of a distinction betweenher townhouses and country houses, with paintings and other characteristic seventeenth-century luxury furnishingsless likely to be found in her country houses.

The most strikingly modish furnishings were chairs imitating Italian models. These were carved and gilded unlike the more usual upholstered seats preferred in bed chambers and drawing rooms, and expressed a direct link with new art collecting. There were eight of these chairs in the galleryand four more in the Marble vault. Theseprobably completed two sets of six chairs:

> Gallery: Item aucht wodin cheiris pentit and geildit of the Italliane fassione, four of thame of wane fassione and four of another.
>
> Marble vault: Item four woddin cheiris of the Italliane fassione, two of wane fassione and two of another pentit and geildit that wes takin out of Auldergait Streit, with covers to thame all of grein cottane

One set of chairs had been used in London. The movement of these chairs between Edinburgh and London suggests that they were not integrated into the architectural framework of either house.The majority of Scottish and English furnishings and soft-furnishings followed French and Flemish models, especially where comfort was important.[87]These Italian-style chairs without upholstery have been described aspart of an English court style, found with marble tables, sculpture, painted chests and

[86] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 467 & 469, ‘Pictures in my ladyes closet’.

[87] Thornton, *Seventeenth-century Interior Decoration*, 7-24: J. Harris, ‘Inigo Jones and his French Sources’, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 19 no.9 (May 1961), 253-264: Jervis, *Late King’s Goods*, 300.

pictures.[88]Inventories suggestan 'Italian language' adopted in the furnishing for the great *virtuosi* collectors and royal favourites.[89]Apair of Italian style chairs, carved with the Duke of Buckingham's monogram and ducal coronet, are dateable between 1623 and his death in 1628. Buckingham had sets of gilt stools at York House identifiable as Italian chairs.[90] Henry Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland bought 'backstooles of the Italian fashion' for Petworth in 1635, (see fig. 5:3).[91]Lady Home's Italian chairs are likely to have been of the same quality as those of these virtuosi.

Unfortunately it is difficult to place Lady Home in the ambit of the court, she was rarely mentioned by contemporaries. Some evidence of her interaction with the world of the connoisseurs is provided by the signatures on her son's marriage contract. In May 1626 she and her son James 2nd Earl of Home made a contract with Francis Earl of Westmorland at the Savoy. It was witnessed by William, 3rdEarl of Pembroke, and his brother, Philip, 1stEarl of Montgomery both regarded as members of the 'Whitehall circle'. Montgomery, said Aubrey, 'exceedingly loved painting and building, in which he had singular judgement'.[92]The Scottish courtiers Thomas Erskine Earl of Kellie and Robert Kerr (later Earl of Ancram) also signed as did the Earl of Morton, builder of the gallery at Aberdour,as curators of the young Earl of Home.[93]

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[88] Jervis, 'Furniture for the first Duke of Buckingham', 48-74: Thornton & Tomlin, 'Franz Cleyn at Ham House', 27-29.

[89] Kurtz, 'Concept of the Classical Past', 199: G. Akrigg, 'The Whitehall Connoisseurs' in *Jacobean Pageant, Court of King James I* (Cambridge Ma., 1962), ch.22: J. Brown*, Kings and Connoisseurs*, (New Haven 1994), 13: Jervis, 'Furniture for the Duke of Buckingham', 54.

[90] L.R. Betcherman, 'The York House Collection and its keeper' *Apollo* 92 (1970), pp. 250-9: *Consuming Splendor*, 219: Jervis, 'Furniture for the first Duke of Buckingham', 52.

[91] J. Bold & E. Chaney ed., *English Architecture: Essays for Kerry Downes* (London, 1993), 58: G Jackson-Stops, 'Furniture at Petworth', *Apollo*, cv no.183 (1977), 358.

[92]David L. Smith, 'Herbert, Philip, first earl of Montgomery and fourth earl of Pembroke (1584–1650)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13042, accessed 26 Feb 2015] Victor Stater, 'Herbert, William, third earl of Pembroke (1580–1630)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13058, accessed 26 Feb 2015]:
Spiers ed., 'Note-book and account book of Nicolas Stone', 117.

[93]Northampton Record Office, WA(A) box 1 /Parcel X/no. 3, 8 & 9 May 1626.

Summer rooms, banqueting rooms and galleries in the palaces of Charles I and Henrietta Maria were decorated and furnished in the Italian manner with sculpture, marble tables, and painted and gilt chairs or stools. Jervis established the character of these rooms from the inventories and valuation of the king's goods. At Oatlands the table and stools of a summer room were described as 'twelve blew stooles of wood gilt of ye Italian table in ye somer rooms'.The summer roomswere presumably adjacent to loggias and the garden. Marble tables and painted stoolslisted at Wimbledon, Nonsuch and Denmark House, were presumably also made in the Italian fashion, though not all were described as such.[94]

In Venice they furnished a long room called the *portego* which was used for the display of pictures in the seventeenth century.[95]The widow of the diplomat and art-agent Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, had six carved and gilt Italian chairs at her house in Twickenham in 1639.[96] More were documented in the collection of the Earl and Countess of Arundel. A pair of *sgabello* chairs can be seen in Daniel Mytens' portrait of Aletheia, Countess of Arundel in a gallery. In 1641 in her London house there were eighteen gilt Italian wooden chairs in the south gallery, nine in an adjacent lobby, and more in the hall.[97]

[94] O. Millar, 'The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651', 287 no.152: S. Jervis, "Shadows, not Substantial Things" Furniture in the Commonwealth Inventories' in A. MacGregor ed., *The Late King's Goods* (Oxford, 1989), 291, 300.

[95] Thornton, *Italian Renaissance Interior*, 290: P. F. Brown, 'Material Culture of Venetian Elites' in D. Romano ed., *Venice Reconsidered* (Baltimore, 2002), pp.295-338, 309-310.

[96] F. Steer, 'Inventory of the Viscountess Dorchester', *Notes & Queries* (December 1953), 516.

[97] L. Cust, 'Notes on the collection formed by Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 20 no. 106, Jan. 1912, p. 235, & vol. 20 no. 104 Nov. 1911, pp. 97-100, & vol. 20 no. 108, March 1912, pp. 341-343: D. Duggan, 'A Rather Fascinating Hybrid: Tart Hall,' *British Art Journal*, vol. 4 no. 3 (Autumn 2003), 54-64:Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 219.

Fig. 5:3 Italian or Italianate Chairs at Petworth, (National Trust)

A similar type of *sgabello* was depicted in Dutch paintings of the meetings of urban corporations, though no examples survive. Reinier Baarsen sees this direct borrowing from Italy of a relatively humble piece of furniture.[98] By humble, Baarsen means that the*sgabelli* were merely carved rather than upholstered with expensive fabrics. However, the inventories show that English versions of the chairs were relatively expensive, and the cost of six scallop chairs and a couch, bought by Lady Home in 1643was recorded by her daughter Margaret, Lady Moray;

> Ane not of things boght by my mother at London 1643
> Item six fyn gilded chyres of carved work lyk scalop chells cost fourtie thrie schillings the peic quiche comes to 12lib-18s
> Item a gilded couche of the sam work cost 4lib-16s-0.[99]

This scallop seating was used in the 'gilded room' at Donibristle House, and described later as a group of Italian stools, (compare an example in fig. 5:4). The six chairs cost slightly more than the value assigned to an equivalent dozen stools in the Commonwealth sales; a set of twelve carved and gilt stools used in the gallery at Oatlands was valued at £10-16s.[100] This

[98] R. Baarsen, *Furniture in Holland's Golden Age*, (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam 2007), 56-59, the generic Dutch word was *schabellen*.

[99] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1, fol.19 et seq. 'Ane note of the thingis in the gilded parlor'.

[100] Millar, 'Inventories and valuations' 279, 287.

price is not particularly cheap and compares favourably with much of the upholstered seating furniture in the valuation. The Commonwealth appraisers in 1649-51 recognised these uncomfortable wooden seats by their merit as prestigious and desirable objects.

The fashion for Italianate ensembles does not seem to have attracted much direct contemporary comment, and has been reconstructed by furniture historians from inventory evidence and the survival of chairs from the 1620s and 1630s. Jervis and Thornton see them as accessories for interiors designed by Inigo Jones and his circle, designers like Francis Cleyn who might attempt to impose unity within the decoration and the architectural frameworkin a classical or Italianate style.[101] The design of the chairs, they supposed, was delegated by the architect to assistants and executed by London craftsmen.

Fig. 5:4 Italianate chair of scallop form associated with Francis Cleyn and Holland House, (V&A)

The eighteenth-century writer Horace Walpole attributed the design to the German painter and tapestry designer Francis Cleyn (d. 1658).[102] According to Walpole, Cleyn worked as a

[101] Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 52-3, 93, 185.

[102] Thornton & Tomlin, 'Franz Cleyn at Ham House', 27-29.

decorative painter at Holland Houseand was the designer of shell-backed Italianate chairs.[103] If production was supervised by professional designers like Jones, Cleyn, or Issac de Caus, and few craftsmen were employed to make them, they may have been hard to obtain. However, differences in the construction of surviving examples suggest that several workshops made sets of these chairs.

The Victoria and Albert museum has a shell-back *sgabello* chair with arms, which has been related to the Holland House chairs described by Walpole (Fig. 5:4).[104]The client at Holland House was a Whitehall courtier, Henry Rich, Earl of Holland a notable court favourite from 1629.[105]The gilded room, the great chamber, at Holland House, the Carolean interior which prompted Walpole's comments was not exactly aclassical Jonesian interior but was painted in a busy Jacobean style with the kind of highly-moulded plaster ceiling avoided by Jones.[106] These ceilings continued to be constructed at houses like Apethorpe, or in Scotland at Moray House itself.The chairs in Lady Home's inventory were probably used in rooms more akin to the scheme at Holland House than the Palladian austerity associated with Jones.

[103] H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. 2 (London, 1849), 375-8: 'Franz Cleyn at Ham House', 27.

[104] V&A W.9-1953; [http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O7969/armchair-clein-francis/].

[105] K. Sharpe, 'The image of virtue' in D. Starkey ed., *The English court* (London, 1987), 256.

[106] C. Gapper, 'Impact of Inigo Jones on London Decorative Plasterwork', *Architectural History*, 44, (2001). 82-7

Fig. 5:5 Gilded room at Holland House, destroyed, (V&A)

Matthew Goodrick rather than Francis Cleyn, executed the decorative painting at Holland House in 1624.[107] Although this weakens Walpole's connection between Cleyn and the Holland Housechairs,Cleyn is credible as a designer of Italianate furniture given his background. Robert Anstruther, a gentleman of the bedchamber and brother of the Robert Anstruther who had the forfeit of Everard Digby's goods, recommended him to the Prince.[108]Cleyn was recruited in Venice for the service of Prince Charles by the ambassador Henry Wotton in 1622.[109]Wotton helped to form the taste for the Italianate, and set the scene for art collectors by advising north light for 'galleries and certain *repositories* for Works of Rarity in Pictures or other Arts'.[110] The type of *sgabello* copied for the art collectors was Venetian.Cleyn's painting, like that in the Green Closet at Ham was intended to lend spaces an Italianate association.[111]Lady Home recognised Italianate chairs as fashionable and had ample opportunity to study developments in London and hear the contemporary discourse of

[107] I. Bristow, *Architectural Colour in British Interiors* (Yale, 1996), 5-20.

[108] Walpole, *Anecdotes*: 'Cleyn at Ham House', 23.

[109] T. Fuller, *History of the Worthies of England* (London 1662), 77-8.

[110] H. Wotton, *Elements of Architecture* (1624).

[111]E. Chew, 'The Countess of Arundel and Tart Hall' in Chaney ed., *The Evolution of English Collecting*, 305-6.

connoisseurship.She established herself at Twickenham Park and Aldersgate in 1624 when the decoration of Holland House was new.[112]Nothing survives of the Moray House interiors except two plaster ceilings created in the mid-1630s in a style similar to that at Holland House. Cloth, tapestry or leather hangings are absent from the inventory of some of the reception rooms, including the Moray House gallery, and these rooms may have been panelled and painted.

The Earl of Moray employed London joiners to panel new rooms at Donibristle in the 1640s. and he employed a painter from London to paint and gild at Moray House and Donibristle. George Crawford's painting work in Scotland was guaranteed by Matthew Goodrick.[113]The Italian chairs were then at Donibristle House. In 1650 George Crawford painted five Italian chairs a plain stone colour for a newly finished first-floor banqueting house with a balcony, marble table and chequered floor, called the 'butyard house' (back yard house). The floor was laid with black marble and freestone by an English mason Roger Coats.[114] The joinery was supplied by two London carpenters and carvers, Roger Coxehead and William Gabriel.[115] Here the Italian chairs (perhaps twenty five years old) painted plain were integrated into a new architectural space which may have owed more to Jonesian classicism.The rest of the chairs were painted green for use in the garden.[116]Shell-backed chairs were used in gardens in England: in 1658 the banqueting house in the Mount Garden at Hampton Court had twelve wainscot 'scollop' chairs.[117] In 1842 Charles Richardson illustrated as a garden bench a seat made of three chairs conjoined, which he said came from Holland House and was probably similar to the scallop couch bought by Lady Home in 1643.[118]

If these chairs were initially commissioned by architects and patrons as Italianate props specifically to suit the architecture or ambience of galleries, suites, or formal gardens, conceived in the Italian manner subsequently they were adopted as fashionable accessories in

[112] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 13 Twickenham.

[113] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 283, March 1646, contract George Crawford.

[114] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 825, Roger Coittis, 1 November 1649.

[115] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 814, Gabriel and Coxehead, 1 August 1649.

[116] NRAS 217 Moray Papers, box 5 nos. 282, 435, 600, 808, 854, 1191.

[117] TNA SP18/203 ff 67-81 Hampton Court inventory of 1658, the nearby marble fountain basin was also a 'scollop.' My thanks to Lee Prosser, Historic Royal Palaces for this reference.

[118] C. Richardson, *Studies from Old English Mansions*, vol.2 (London 1842, n.p.).

their own right in the galleries and drawing rooms of a wider circle, patrons who did not employ Jones or his circle to supervise their building projects. These are furnishing for the courtly art collector assimilated and imitated. As the Countess of Home cannot beidentified as a significant figure in court life it is interesting to find these components of high court style in her inventory. Arundel, Buckingham and Holland and the other Whitehall connoisseurs were considerable political figures which the Countess of Home was not. However, her furnishings and the employment of Nicolas Stone and Isaac de Caus are evidence of her court connections and interest in and contact with court culture.[119]

The decision to set up Italianate reception rooms in Edinburgh is surprising, when conventional choices of chair were more convenient and comfortable. The*gabello* chairs placed in the gallery and reception rooms at Moray House were perhaps not expected to be used for prolonged periods, unless comfort wereto be sacrificed for fashion. What kind of impact would they have had in Edinburgh for those unfamiliar with new court tastes? Would they serve as indicators of wealth and prestige outside of a court circle? The uninitiated may have thought them cheap and even demeaning. Lady Home and her daughters may have been pleased to find themselves explaining their choice to guests who were unfamiliar with court fashions. Perhaps the cumbersome phrase in the inventory 'of the Italian fashion' echoes their repeated explanations.These Italian stools did not depreciate in value and were taken to Donibristle and refashioned and updated to form part of a new interior there, while others were displayed in the garden.

The impression of novelty provided by the chairs in 1631 was reinforced by another rarity 'a woddin tabill paintit blak and geildit with cheina work'. This is an early reference to oriental style furniture in Scotland and again points to an urge to impress. 'China' or 'Indian' items are rare in Scottish inventories at this time. Silver candlesticks described as 'a geildit eliphantis head' (gilded elephant head)were conceived in the same taste. Oriental furniture, whether from India, China or Japan or imitation, had become fashionable in court circles by the second decade of the seventeenth-century following the successes of the East India Company.[120] Oriental goods appear to have had a wider appeal than Italianate fashion and

[119] W. Spiers ed., 'Note-book and account book of Nicolas Stone', 117: H. Colvin, *Essays in Architectural History* (London 1999), 136-157.

[120] Thornton, *Seventeenth-centuryInterior Decoration*, 246, 343.

were more widely distributed. Twelve pieces belonging to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton in 1614 were described as oriental including chests and a China gilt cabinet. Northampton's great nephew, the Earl of Arundel had a bed of 'Jappan' in 1614. In 1615 Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, had two China chests and two China tables. In 1641 Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel had Indian chairs, tables and chests. There were three China chairs in Morton's Aberdour gallery by 1649.[121]

The conjunction of the china table and Italian chairs may well point to eclectic borrowing of attainable luxuries by the Countess of Home. Novelty rather coherence may have been the presiding theme in her decoration. She was proud of her furnishings. Having moved the furniture around to her own satisfaction, she was determined that the houses and furnishing would pass intact to her daughters, and preferably their daughters. The will shows that all her houses remained furnished. She set out how her two daughters and grandchildren should share and divide her homes and furnishings in London and Edinburgh. Aldersgate Street and all the furniture was for Lady Maitland. On her decease they were to pass to her daughter Mary Maitland, on whose behalf the duke of Lauderdale would petition for restitution of the house and furniture in 1660.[122] All the furniture in Moray House was reserved for Margaret Lady Doune in her lifetime, and then to her son James Stewart 4th Earl of Moray. Twickenham Park was intended to pass to Lady Doune and then her daughter Mary Stewart, who was named as executor of the will.

When the Countess died in September 1644 the will was out of date, since she had sold Twickenham Park and bought Highgate House in 1640. The will was proved in England only in 1658. This was an attempt to settle continuing disputes over London property confiscated in 1649, when John Maitland was judged 'delinquent' and the houses and furniture claimed by the Commonwealth. The furnishings had been shared between her daughters in 1645. The various inventories were examined and compared, including those of vacated homes like Dunglass and Twickenham, so that the Earl of Moray could deliver pieces due to Lauderdale.[123] Lists were made of things at Aldersgate to be divided between the two

[121] NRS GD 150/2838, no.2, Inventory of Aberdour, 1647.

[122] HMC *7th Report, House of Lords* (1879), 123: NRAS 217 box 5 nos. 23, 326: NLS MS. Acc.14547.

[123] NLS MS Acc. 14547, fol. 54.

sisters.[124] Boxes were shipped from London in May 1645 destined for the Canongate and the Earl of Moray's house at Donibristle.[125] In 1649 John Ireton obtained the property in Highgate.[126] In 1660 Lauderdale, who had been imprisoned since Worcester, petitioned for the return of the houses in Highgate and Aldersgate, claiming that the furniture had been sold unjustly, and out of the proceeds of the Aldersgate furniture sale the 'discoverer' had received £600. Lauderdale claimed that the furniture properly belonged to his daughter by bequest and hoped for the return of all that could be discovered.[127] In this manner furnishings acquired by the Countess of Home and used at Aldersgate and Highgate and in Scotland may eventually have come to Ham House. The Moray papers inventories however mostly document furnishings which came to the Earls of Moray.

5:4 Conclusion

Furnishings at Moray House in the 1630s paralleled those of courtiers. Marble tables, Italianate chairs, paintings and sculpture are found only in the small number of English inventories of members of the 'Whitehall group' or 'Whitehall connoisseurs'. Identification of court style in the Countess of Home's inventory shows both that Italianate furnishing was more widespread and more widely imitated than supposed and that the Countess was alert to the influence of court fashion.

To an architectural historian the original furnishings of a building are usually more interesting than later contents, supposed torelate closely to the building and its planned uses. This idea underliesefforts to relate Italianate chairs to interiors designed and decorated by Francis Cleyn and Inigo Jones. The Canongate house was clearly furnished at the direction of Lady Home. The dressing of these rooms was contingent forshe intended to move items around her houses, to make the best show when Charles I came to Edinburgh, to accommodate the best furnishings from other houses when they were no longer required, she carried some of her favourite paintings and cabinet items around with her. At Moray House, particular pieces of court-style furniture were used in spaces which may have been modelled

[124] NRAS 217 box 5 nos. 306 & 470.

[125] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 252, lading of John Gryson's ship.

[126] *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for the Advance of Money*, 1642-1656, vol.2, 949: NLS MS. Acc.14547.

[127] *HMC 7th Report, House of Lords*, (1879), 123.

(in their proportions) on her London house. These were her considerationsrather than those of her builders and or architectural advisors.

The English-made Italian chair may have been created to dress Italianate settingsfor courtiers, but once established in fashionablesurroundings, further examples could be made and used as a shorthand reference tothe virtuoso style.How far Lady Home's rooms deviated from Italianate rooms made for the Duke of Buckingham or Henrietta Maria cannot be known. These accessories are evidence of awareness of the fashionable world of the art-collectors, but it is less certain that allof Lady Home's furnishings were first-rate, when the prices of paintings seem too low to be other than for inexpensive copies.

The inventory prominently signals that chairs are of the 'Italliane fassone'. She was as conscious that her chairs followed fashion as she was that her silver waslike that used by the Duchess of Richmond, the Queen, and Queen Mother.[128]This material culture can be compared with thatpresented on the London stage as the extravagance of aristocratic women. Luxury goods promoted class identity and mystique in London society to exclude the uninitiated. James Shirley's *The Lady of Pleasure*, performed in 1635, features conspicuous expenditure. Aretina's husband observes that she:

> obeyed no modest counsel to effect, nay study, wayes of pride and costly ceremony, your change of gaudy furniture and pictures, of this Italian Master, and that Dutchman.[129]

Aretina's extravagance required study and counsel – it was a kind of connoisseurship. Later in the century, Lady Moray, Lady Home's daughter, was censured by her son for her extravagance.Plays like *The Lady of Pleasure* record reaction, re-vitalised versions of the luxury critique. Aretina extravagances include sitting for Van Dyck: Lady Home's London drawing room was decorated with a series of copies of Van Dyck portraits. The value of drama in reconstructing social codes is acknowledged by Anna Bryson, who finds that 'social values are often drawn and debated with more subtlety and power' than in the didactic

[128] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1, inventory of Donibristle: TNA Prob/11/272/611 fol. 403-6, 'round pott of my lady Richmonds fashion.'.

[129] Shirley, *The Lady of Pleasure* (London 1637), sig. B2, E2: Shirley also worked Van Dyck into Act III of *The Ball*.

literature of courtesy manuals.[130] References taken from the Caroline stage seem appropriate to these fashions of metropolitan origin.

The Countess of Home's paintings were hung in her townhouses and at Donibristle. Scottish courtiers like the Earl of Somerset or the Marquises of Hamilton kept their pictures at their Whitehall lodgings or London houses. A collection of pictures was still a novelty in Scotland, the only other example at Aberdour Castle where William Douglas, 7th Earl of Morton, had 47 paintings. Morton did not have any Italian chairs, and the furniture as listed, apart from a marble table, is not eye-catchingly novel.[131]Paintings and Italianate furnishings are absent from other Scottish aristocratic houses of the period, such as Hamilton Palace, Floors, Glamis, or Caerlaverock. This is an indication that the Countess was an especially sensitive patron and careful follower of court fashion. Our knowledge of the Moray House spaces is conjectural, but the conscious use of the 'Italian fashion' chairs indicates a link with the short-lived court style that ended at the interregnum. Over two to three decades the chairs do not seem to have been distributed faroutside the court circle. Their presence in Edinburgh indicates both that the circle was wider and the Countess was closer to court culture than previously recognised.

In 1617 David Hume of Godscroft highlighted Lady Home's activity as a builder. As a widow she continued building atAldersgate and Moray House. Perhaps she remained consciousof Godscroft's image of her repairing hand working the fabric of union. Her interior decoration too could be seen as an example for the United Kingdom. However, other themes can be seen in her furnishings, court and metropolitan fashion competes with her self-fashioning as a widow, as a Home and a Harington, and as a healer.

[130] Bryson, *Courtesy to Civility*, 17-8, 42.

[131] NRS GD150/2838/8; GD150/2843/1, 2.

Chapter Six: Recreation and Privacy

6:1 Introduction

Some furnishings seem passive objects of display whichtell us little more than that a space was richly appointed, intended to impress, participating in a display of taste, wealth and power. The presence of expensive hangings or art can indicate where guests were entertained. Other objects can be recognised for the roles they played in activities, locating specific functions of hospitality, domestic work, or the more private spheres of leisure, health, and hygiene. Leisure included games, music, reading and recreational pursuitsthat are now unfamiliar, intended to promote physical and spiritual well-being.[1]Leisure and work in the early modern period were not conceptually separated in the same way as modern usages, and this is discussed in the next chapter where closet activities are examined. This chapter looks at three activities; - games, playing music, and hygiene, activities which were performed in contexts demanding varying levels of privacy. The locations of these activities ought to be informative of international differences in the organisation of the home.

Inventories allow these activities to be located in particular rooms. Where a house had a gallery, much of the family leisure activity was located there, The situation in England has been described by Rosalys Coope, who quotes Roger North that the gallery was fit for a gentlemen to entertain a company of a middle condition, or 'indulgent friends', rather than to impress.[2]Galleries in Scotland were similarly purposed and were often rooms in the eaves of lodgings.[3]It is not clear if the gallery was intended for family use or male or female company, and they may have been flexible in this respect. Long galleries are particularly associated with female exercise, though men are recorded walking and talking in galleries. However, somegallerieswere not very long, and the name denoted the leisure activities and its spatial relationship to family lodgings.

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[1]E. McKay, 'For refreshment and preservinge health': the definition and function of recreation in early modern England' *Historical Research*, vol. 81, no. 211 (2008), 52-74.

[2]R. Coope, 'The Gallery in England: Names and Meanings', *Architectural History*, vol. 27 (1984), pp. 446-455: R. Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', 59-63: H. Colvin & J. Newman ed., *Of Building, Roger North's writing on Architecture* (Oxford 1981), 135.

[3] Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 83-4.

Objects and spaces reconstructed from inventories can contribute to a history of intimacy. Orest Ranum proposed the concept of domestic and garden 'souvenir spaces' which contained 'souvenir objects'. These objects were tokens of social relationships, promising to reveal past thoughts and intimacies. Ranum saw place, the object, and its text and image as the three sources of evidence for a history of intimacy.[4] By studying inventories we can know something about the place and its relation to other spaces, from lists of usually long vanished objects. While the objects and their texts are usually also absent, the inventory descriptions can help us to find analogues, the text of the inventory being a surrogate for the object.

This chapter examines evidence found in inventories for activities in rooms,and changes in activities over the period. In most of the households studied here the hall served as the most public interior space. Rooms other than the hall were not necessarily confined to family or solitary use. Privacyin terms of domestic space is relational and relative to other space in the home and was dynamic during use, and early modern concepts of privacy were different to ours.[5]The garden should also be regarded as another location from which a variety of more private spaces could be accessed. The accretive architecture of Scottish houses resulted in a variety of room sequences, which could be called suites or apartments, but were analogous to royal palace planning only in increasing limitation of access, and not necessarily closely related in form or use. In the analysis of these buildings, where there can be two or more groups of reception rooms, which could have been used independently, it is useful to consider rooms as belonging to clusters rather than steps in a sequence of increasing privacy or a 'processional route'.

The process of establishing privacy in a home discriminates between people, offering privileges to some and excluding others. Movement between rooms crossed social barriers, barriers which might be patrolled by ushers and footmen, observed and understood by the unwelcome, but almost invisible to the privileged, each group having internalised rules of conduct. Group privacy was achieved when select company convened in a reception room, gallery, withdrawing chamber or bedchamber. The group would be formed on the basis of rank, status, friendship, political or religious affinities. Guests would have had a keen sense

[4]O. Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy', in R. Chartier, *History of Private Life*, iii (Harvard, 1989), pp. 207-63, 207-8, 210, 258.

[5] E. Longfellow, 'Public, Private, and the Household in Early Seventeenth-Century England' *The Journal of British Studies*, 45 (2006), pp 313-334.

of where they should be received, and what they should expect from their hosts according to their own rank. There are no Scottish conduct and etiquette books of the period, and English examples are not rich in the detail of how this was achieved. Stage plays from the first decades of the seventeenth century suggest how room etiquette was managed, frequently servants are directed to ask visitors to wait in other named rooms.[6] These are Londonplays, but it is probable that much of the etiquette highlighted eitherappliedor had analogues in Edinburgh.

Inventories tell us a little about where games were played. Games were mostly played in shared spaces, with the interesting exception of a bowling table placed in a woman's bedchamber. The virginals have a reputation as an instrument played by women in private, but they were used in more public spaces, halls or dining rooms, or placed near women's bedchambers. Washing and sanitation took place in the bedchamber. In the seventeenth-century, games, music and sanitation were accommodated in new reception rooms intended for guests of equivalent rank. The appropriation of activities from bedchamber and hall into new rooms indicated changes in points of etiquette and moral attitudes.

Beyond the group privacy achieved in inner reception rooms, houses also offered a limited amount of personal privacy. The closet or cabinet usually next to a bedchamber was a place of study and business, accommodating no more than one or two people. Other larger cabinets housed collections and were exquisitely decorated. Sanitation for the elite was also centred on the bedchamber; family and guests washed, urinated and defecated in their bedchambers or in bedchamber closets. Dry stools had replaced the privy with a garderobe chute, which would not be noted in an inventory. However, in the seventeenth century, dry or close stools were available behind screensin drawing chambers and galleries. These were perhaps for use of the company, family and guests, using those spaces. Such a facility was useful in townhouses where guests would visit but not stay overnight.

6:2 Indoor Games

[6]M. Morillo, 'Shirley's "Preferment" and the Court of Charles I'*Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 1, no. 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring 1961), pp. 101-117, 105: J. Sanders, 'Caroline Salon Culture and Female Agency: The Countess of Carlisle, Henrietta Maria, and Public Theatre'*Theatre Journal*, vol. 52, no. 4, Women/History (Dec. 2000), pp. 449-464, 461.

Cards, backgammon, chess and dice were popular throughout Europe, and were commonplace subjects of in moral homily.[7]James IV played chess, dice, backgammon and cards.[8] In his *Jewel*, Thomas Urquhart listed the 'house games of dice, cards, playing at the chess, billiards' and 'trou-trou madam, and other such-like chamber sports'.[9] This distinction between house games and chamber sports will be discussed below. With the exception of billiard tables and the backgammon-like games known as tables, games equipment escapes the inventory record. The same observation has been made of 'tric trac'tables and billiards in French inventories.[10] Billiard tables are immobile and backgammon boards can be very valuable while cards and dice were insignificant.

Cards, tables, and dice were all condemned by urban authorities from time to time, but dice games were particularly targeted for their associations with gambling and violence, their vilification justified because dice could be connected with the story of the Passion.[11] However, dice were recorded in great quantity in Edinburgh merchants' stock in the 1580s, and clerical censure never eradicated the game.[12]The seventeenth-century author Charles Cotton classed dice games as 'games without tables' and described the varieties *inn and inn*, *passage*, and *hazard*. Cotton notes that as many could play at *hazard* as could stand around the largest round table.[13]Dicing equipment was not worth recording because it was cheap, although in 1649 John Clerk interested the Earl of Moray in a novel French table, 'for playing of dyce or telling of money'.[14] Dedicated tables for cards are absent from Scottish and English inventories.[15]Many seventeenth-century dining rooms and drawing rooms contained a square and a round table. It is possible that these round tables were preferred because they suited dice and cards. If so, dice may have been played in these dining rooms.

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[7]L. A. Smoller, 'Playing Cards and Popular Culture in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg'*The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Summer, 1986), 183-214, 186-7.

[8]*Treasurer's Accounts*, iii, lvii.

[9] T. Urquhart, *Jewel* (London, 1652), 95-6.

[10] Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter à Paris*, 65.

[11] M. Hall, 'The Material Culture of Medieval Gaming' in E. Cowan & L. Henderson ed., *A History of Everyday Life in Medieval Scotland 1000-1600* (Edinburgh, 2011), 145-168, 159-162: M. Vale, *Gentleman's Recreations* (Cambridge, 1977), 135.

[12] Edinburgh testaments; XVII. 95 b; IX. 184 b. (cited *DOST*).

[13] C. Cotton, *The Complete Gamester* (London, 1674), 164-173.

[14] NRS GD18/2489/21.

[15] Chinnery, *Oak Furniture*, 293.

The cards themselves are notnoticed in Scottish inventories. There is plenty of other evidence for card playing, and James VI was recorded playing a card game called ‘maw’ or ‘maye’.[16] He approved of card play for those ‘weary of reading or evill disposed in [their] person’.[17] Cards could be played on any kind of table. While, it could be assumed that card games were played in the same rooms where billiards and board games were played, it is possible that cards were also played more privately on dining tables set up in rooms like the chamber of dais.

Sets of counters used for calculation in accounting could also be used for card games. They were set out on exchequer cloths on ‘comptar’ tables for reckoning. Inexpensive brass decorative counters were minted in Nuremburg and widely distributed. However, some elite women acquired silver counters.Mary Queen of Scots had 300 silver counters at Fotheringhay.[18] In 1635 the countess of Leicester had silver ‘casting’ counters, notionally for casting accounts, but these too were probably for gaming.[19] Seventeenth-century silver counters could be engraved with portraits of the royal family, Lady Home had a box full of these portrait counters at Moray House in the 1630s in her cabinet. The counters were perhaps kept in the cabinet only for their relative security, because of their value, or for use in accounting there, and the games played in the gallery or drawing room.

The game of tables and tablemen is frequently seen in inventories. The thirty tablemen were round like draughts. Tables is often described as a form of backgammon, but encompassed a family of games, comprising at least six ‘games within tables’; Irish, backgammon, tick-tack, dubblets, sice-ace, and ketch-dolt.[20] Chess sets are found with tables in inventories. The boards were usually set out with chequers on one side and points on the other. Examples of bone, wood and ivory game pieces have been found in archaeological excavations, particularly from Western Scotland, notably Finlaggan, seat of the Lords of the Isles. These

[16]*Calendar State Papers Scotland*, vol.9 (1915), 653-6.

[17]*Basilikon Doron* (Edinburgh, 1599), 148, quoted in Vale, *Gentleman’s Recreation*, 135.

[18] Labanoff, *Lettres Marie Stuart*, 7, 265-6.

[19]J. O. Halliwell, *Ancient Inventories of Furniture, Pictures, Tapestry, Plate* (London, 1854), 52.

[20] Cotton, *Complete Gamester*,154-163.

finds include crude playing pieces presumably used by the non-elite permanent residents of the sites.[21]

The 'pairs' of tables described in aristocratic inventories were hinged boards. These were frequently luxurious, inlaid with a playing surface patterned in coloured wood, ivory or silver. The material of the counters or tablemen matched the inlay of board.
According to inventories, these tables were located in halls, galleries, drawing rooms, and cabinet rooms – or perhaps those sets kept in cabinets were precious and brought out to play in other rooms. The game was played by both women and men and was clearly very popular. While sometimes a literal table top is indicated, some versions were not much more bulky than modern sets and were clearly portable.

Playing tables was certainly a pursuit practised by elites. John Shirley in the 1440s described James I spending the evening before his assassination at Perth playing chess and tables – and reading romances, singing, piping and harping with other 'solaces of great pleasance'.[22] Although this list of activities sounds more like an appropriation of a schoolmaster's commonplace than reportage, it is a plausible enough reflection of fifteenth-century leisure. Tables and chessmen were bought during James V's French trip, for his 'chamber'.[23] James VI mentioned tables as a 'house pastime', with card-playing preferable to dicing on moral grounds, and for Robert Burton playing at the tables was one of the 'ordinary recreations' in winter.[24]

The game of tables was not kept in bedchambers. They are found in halls in mid sixteenth-century inventories like Yester in 1579, and as late as 1615 at the Byres.[25] In the next decades the game was played in more private spaces. At Moray House one luxurious London-bought set of tables made of ebony with jet dice was kept in the gallery.[26]The presence of this set

[21] M. Hall, 'The Material Culture of Medieval Gaming', 145-168, 155-7, 159.

[22] M. Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), 186.

[23]*Treasurer's Accounts*, vi, 464.

[24] 'Basilicon Doron' in J. Sommerville ed., *King James I and VI: Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1994), 57-8: Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy.*

[25] Fraser, *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. 2, 288-292.

[26] NRAS 217, box 5 no.5, fol.5, 'ane littill blak ibonie tabill indentit with ane pare of tabillis in it with thretie tabill men and ane pare of blak dys of geit cost iilib starling'.

helps establish the room as a games room, rather than an art gallery although it was decorated with many pictures. Another set of tables was kept in the wardrobe, to be taken out and used in other rooms, (much like bath tubs). Lady Home keptthe third most elaborate set in her cabinet,inlaid with ivory, with silver table men, in a painted green box.[27] This set was to play with the most privileged guest entertained in the cabinet, bedchamber. At her daughter's home at Donibristle, she kept another set in her drawing chamber; 'two pair of ibonie tabillis set with blak and whyt bone and blak & whyt men'.[28] Given the number and locations of these sets, it is possible that Lady Home intended the more public gallery and drawing chamber sets to be used by visitors who had to wait for her, and she only played with the silver set herself, with privileged opponents.

At Hamilton Palace in 1647 games boards were kept in a room called 'my lords tyll (tiled) hall or withdrawing room' – two chess boards and a pair of inlaid tables.[29] These are almost the only non-furnishing items noticed in the inventory, apart from a bible in the same room and another in the adjacent dining room revealing the strict focus of the inventory on furnishing. The house was not used by the duke at this time. The principal rooms were furnished but unoccupied, and possessions of other family members in residence were not recorded.[30]

These inventories give a picture of the drawing chamber as a space adjacent to the dining room, in Scottish terms a successor to the chamber of dais. No evidence has been found that tables were played in sixteenth-century bedchambers. Seventeenth-century Parisian inventories give the impression that the game was played tête-à-tête in chambers.[31]Dutch paintings show games like backgammon or tric-trac played at a bedside table, or played inmore communal spaces with onlookers. Given the lack of bedchamber sets discovered in inventories, perhaps in Scotland tables remained a more communal game where others could participate by placing side bets. Lady Home's luxurious cabinet game probably reflects Anglo-French influences on her habits.

[27] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5, fol.17, 'ane pair of indentit ibanie tabillis with silver men with the cace of them in timber pentit green'.

[28] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 6 Donibristle inventory (c. 1633).

[29] Hamilton papers MS 12/1, Hamilton 1647.

[30] Wemyss, 'Aspiration and Ambition', ii, 140.

[31] Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter à Paris*, 65, 199.

Mary Queen of Scots and James VI had billiard tables in the 1570s and 1580s. Anne of Denmark played at billiards in the Great Hall of Stirling Castle in May 1603 while waiting for supper.[32] Billiard tables are fairly infrequent in inventories but they can also be detected in household accounts because the cloths had to be renewed periodically. A table for James VI needed five ells of green cloth for its cover in 1578. A table at Dundas Castle required three and a half ells of green London cloth in 1624, costing £35 Scots.At Moray House the purchase of new London green cloth in January 1637 was recorded on the page of gallery contents. The billiard table itself was omitted perhaps because it was not installed in 1631 when the inventory was first written, but was a later addition. New cues and eight balls were bought in London;

> Item bought from Johne Forest four billiard clubis of dyvers cullorrs of wood and bone and aught ballis of wood of syndrie cullors which cost 35s.[33]

Ben Jonson included billiard balls in the list of luxury goods cried out by the shop boy at the opening of the New Exchange in 1609.[34]Robert Cecil's billiard table at Salisbury House on the Strand (first recorded in 1612) was in the picture gallery in 1629.[35]In 1639 Holyrood Palace had a'bulyeat hall' on the second-floor, above the palace gallery.[36] By 1692 there was a billiard room at the Bog o'Gight, near the hall and dining room on the first floor.[37] The Moray House table was bought and presumably used by Lady Home and her daughters and visitors, and sited in the gallery,it could not be claimed that it was for exclusive male or female use.There are examples of tables in more private spaces; at Aberdour Castle in 1647 the billiard was kept in the outer tower bedchamber, in a suite perhaps used by the Earl and Countess of Morton.[38]

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[32] W. Fraser ed., *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, vol. 2 (1889), 210.

[33]*Treasurers Accounts*, xiii, 223: NLS Adv. 80-2-4 fol. 97: NRAS 217 box 5 no.5, fol.5v.

[34]J. Knowles, "Jonson's Entertainment at Britain's Burse" in M. Butler, ed., *Re-presenting Ben Jonson: Text, History, Performance* (New York, 1999), 133-34.

[35]*HMC Salisbury,* vol. 22, 252: Guerci, 'Salisbury House in London, 1599-1694', 62.

[36]*Accounts of the Masters of Work*, ii, 393, 399.

[37] NRS GD44/49/13/1/3, Bog 1692.

[38] NRS GD150/2843 nos. 1 & 2, Aberdour.

Some games may have often been played in women's bedchambers or cabinets. Lady Home boughta 'French buloing' table for £1-5s in 1634 and set it up in her bedchamber at Donibristle.[39]'Trou madame' was a bowling game particularly played by women, described by Sir ThomasUrquhart a 'chamber sport' rather than a 'house game', a kind of bagatelle where balls were launched at thirteen holes.[40] This was an acceptable bedchamber sport, and there is a contemporary engraving of trou-madame being played in a bedchamber (fig. 6:1).

Fig. 6:1*Trou Madame* played in a woman's bedchamber, Matthieu Merian, c.1630 (BM).

Lady Homehad another bowling game in the Edinburgh cabinet, an ivory ball and nine pins. A table for 'trolle madam' was listed in the Commonwealth sales.[41] An inventory of Hatfield Priory in 1629 shows that 'troll madam' was played in the Great Parlour. That room had a chess set and seems also to have served as a dining room.[42]Bedchamber games may have been a habit of French royals. Elizabeth de Valois played 'martes' – knucklebones in her

[39] NRAS 217 box 5 no.6, fol.2.

[40] See *OED* 'troll madam'.

[41] Jervis, 'Furniture in the Commonwealth inventories', 289.

[42] G. Lowndes, 'Inventory of Hatfield Priory', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, vol. 3, (Colchester 1889), 155-176, 157.

cabinet in Spain in 1560. Mary Queen of Scots played a game called 'marchrukis' on a green cloth in her chamber.[43]

Most other games equipment was found in hall or gallery. These games were also played in the more private spaces provided by new drawing chambers. Etiquette and ethical calculations probably underpinned the development of new room spaces and the activities that took place in them. Games lead to gambling which was shameful, but games could be controlled in an orderly household if they were open to surveillance. Thus moral pressure might permit games only in the more public spaces in the house. With the exception of the 'bowling table', games seem not to have been played in the bedchamber. Paintings of Dutch interiors often show beds in the background of scenes with games players, though how far these represent real interiors or equivalent classes and so a real cultural differenceis unclear.

6:3 Music

While games equipment was found in Scottish drawing chambers, equipment for music making was not. The virginals were not located in drawing chambers in the inventories studied. Moral and gendered precepts were in operation. Music-making like games playing, had associations of immorality, not merely because of views on mixed-sex dancing, but because music itself was supposed to inflame passions both of players and auditors. Music-making, in Scottish inventories, is almost exclusively represented by the virginals or the organ. These instruments appear in inventories because they were large and immobile, regarded as a piece of furniture in the modern sense rather than as moveable personal possessions. Scottish inventories place the virginals and organ in halls or thresholds rather than in more private spaces. Other more portable instruments such as the lute, cittern or viol are attested in other sources, household accounts record the purchase of lute strings.[44]

English inventories can include a greater variety of instruments listed in a wider range of rooms. At Apethorpe in 1629 the 'mussicke chamber' had a bed and tapestry hangings, and two chests of musical instruments, with stringed instruments including six viols, two bandoras, a theorbo and a lute. Chests were sets of stringed instruments: possibly this was a

[43] H. de La Ferrière, *Deux années de mission à saint-Pétersbourg: manuscrits, lettres et documents* (Paris 1867), 18: *Treasurer's Accounts*, xi, 350.

[44] Brown, *Noble Society*, 217-8: NRS GD26/5/512-6, Leven & Melville, account books of John, lord Melville (d.1635).

room used by a professional musician, and the instruments were used in other rooms. The gallery fireplace has a verse referring to the performance of music, and the figure of King David playing the harp, indicating that this was the usual venue for musical performances. Virginals and organs were kept in the galleries at Haddon and Wallingford House in London.[45]The inventory of Arthur Coke of Bramfield in 1629 includes a viol in his parlour, a room which seems to have served as a dining room, and virginals in the 'kitchen bedchamber' a rare instance of the instrument in a bedchamber.[46]Lady Hoby recorded that she played her orpharion in her bedchamber closet in 1600 as a solitary activity between prayers and domestic chores.

In Scotland the virginals and the organ were located in the hall, gallery, or in lobbies outside women's bedchambers. The virgins were predominately played by women, though men played the virginals and professional teachers were male, in Scottish homes they can be associated with adolescent and unmarried women, and the placing of these instruments in the house reflects contemporary moral attitudes to music-making by younger women. Playing the instrument was seen as a woman's accomplishment and as a token of expensive education, a signifier of family wealth. Mothers made efforts to obtain virginals for their daughters, in 1587 Elizabeth Douglas, Countess of Morton wrote to remind John Maxwell of Pollok to obtain some virginals for her eldest daughter.[47] Ann Murray, Lady Halkett, mentions her mother paying for her lessons in French, on the lute and the virginals in the 1630s.[48] Moralising literature could be positive about women playing music as a solitary recreation and negative about the potential effects of women's performances for men.[49] These conflicting attitudes of the presentation of music would affect the location of performance in the house.

[45] NRO W (A) box 6, parcel V, nos. 1 & 2: Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 102: *HMC Rutland*, ii, 344, 347.

[46] D. Meads, ed., *Diary ofLady Margaret Hoby* (Boston, 1930), 99: F. Steer, 'Inventory of Arthur Coke of Bramfield', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 25, iii, (1951), 264-287.

[47] Fraser, ed., *Memoirs of the Maxwells*, ii, 160-1.

[48] J. G. Nichols ed., *Autobiography of Anne Lady Halkett* (London, 1875), 2.

[49]L. P. Austern, "Sing Againe Syren": The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature' *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 3 (Autumn, 1989), pp. 420-448, 435-7.

Virginals were a compact precursor of the harpsichord. The strings are plucked by quills inserted in jacks. These are hidden under the lid – the bobbing motion of these jacks became the chief feature of the virginals in sexual humour. The volume is low, and some examples of the instrument are high pitched and unsuitable for playing in consort, which has led to the assumption that the instrument was used only in small spaces like drawing rooms or parlours. While some instruments were best suited to being played in small rooms, this is not how they were used. It is not clear that the virginals were played in private spaces, despite a widespread belief that early modern women played the instrument on their own.[50] Both in English and Scottish inventories the virginals were rarely recorded in bedchambers or cabinets.

Attitudes to music in the home were ambivalent. Female music-making was seen both as a valued accomplishment but also viewed with apprehension, associated with unsanctioned sexual freedoms.[51]Robert Burton wrote that 'to heare a faire young gentlewoman to play upon the virginalls, lute, viall and sing to it must needs be a great entisement', an 'artificial allurement'.[52]James Melville approved of his wife's accomplishments but reflected on 'the great mercie of my God that keipit me from ainie grait progress in singing and playing on instruments' because 'giff I had attained to anie reasonable missure thairin, I haid naver don guid utherwayes'.Melville's position echoes the suggestion of many conduct manuals that music-making could soften men and make them unfit for study.[53] Negative images of the virginals range from comparing the action of the jacks to loose teeth, to loquaciousness, and associations of lewdness and promiscuity.[54]

Music could make men lose their self-control. The role of the virginals in the well-publicised case of Doctor John Lambe, who raped a girl after she played for him, reflects the perceived

[50] C. Wilson, *Shakespeare's Musical Imagery* (London, 2011), 170.

[51] R. H. Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-making* (Amsterdam 2008), 1-28.

[52] C. Marsh, *Music and Society in Modern England* (Cambridge 2013), 176-7, 515-6: K. Gibson, 'Music Melancholy and Masculinity in Early Modern England' in K. Gibson & I. Biddle, *Masculinity in Western Musical Practice* (Farnham 2009), 41-66: R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, III, ii (Oxford 1651), 580.

[53]J. Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville: With a Continuation of the Diary*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh, 1842), 29: R Ascham, *Toxophilus* (London 1545), fol. 10r: K. Gibson, 'Music Melancholy and Masculinity', 53-8.

[54]R. Trillini, 'The Gaze of the Listener: Shakespeare's Sonnet 128 and Early Modern Discourses of Music and Gender'*Music & Letters*, vol. 89, no. 1 (Feb., 2008), pp. 1-17.

effect of music on men.[55] The jokes of 1630s London comedies combined innuendo with deprecation of the accomplishment as an old-fashioned and déclassé activity.[56] These satirical references did not accompany a decline in the popularity of the virginals but reflect a moral climate which influenced how the instrument was used in the home. The placing of the instrument in the house had to accommodate competing attitudes: the enjoyment of music by players and audiences, and apprehension of future shame caused by frivolity and lightness of character.

Inventory evidence does not support the assertion that women's performances were 'invariably played in private' with instances of virginals located in private feminine spaces such as bedchambers being rare.[57]The image of the virginals played in private is fuelled by Sir James Melville's famous anecdote of Queen Elizabeth, who allowed him to find her playing alone in a room off a gallery.[58]This story may have been intended to paint a picture of Elizabeth's frivolous side. Less well known is Francis Bacon's story of Elizabeth playing for Walter Raleigh and others – an occasion where an obscene joke about the jacks was made.[59] This latter scenario fits the sketch of typical late sixteenth-century performance given by Regula Trillini where gentlemen are listeners to the performance of professionals or unmarried women. She notes an absence of literary references to married women making music.[60]InLondon houses the instrument was usually placed in the hall, the most public and largest space, rather than the parlour.[61] The majority of visitors to these London houses would see the virginals, and more of these visitors might hear them played. This seems to afford a

[55] Anon, *A briefe description of the notorious life of Iohn Lambe otherwise called Doctor Lambe* (London 1628), 17: A. McConnell, 'Lambe, John (1545/6–1628)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15925, accessed 18 Aug 2014].

[56] S. Marmion, *A Fine Companion* (London 1633), sig G2: E. S. *Cupid's Whirligig* (London 1630), sig H2: Karen Newman, "Goldsmith's ware": Equivalence in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 71, no. 1 (March 2008), pp. 97-113.

[57] C. Wilson, *Shakespeare's Musical Imagery* (London 2011), 170.

[58]J. Melville, *Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill* (Edinburgh, 1827), 29.

[59] F. Bacon, *Apopthegmes* (London 1625), 7-8.

[60] R. H. Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music Making*, 8, 16-19

[61] F. Brown, 'Continuity and Change in the Urban House: Developments in Domestic Space Organisation in Seventeenth-Century London' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 28, no. 3 (Jul. 1986), pp. 558-590, 582.

guarantee of propriety – music making was not concealed where it could generate prurient suggestion. Moral rather than acoustic considerations were prioritised.

In Scotland the virginals were in the hall at Caerlaverock in 1640,and in 1648 at Glamis the organ and harpsichord were kept in the great hall which was still used as the dining room.[62] At Huntly the upper hall was called the organ hall and at the Bog the organ was kept in the gallery. The harpsichord at Aberdour Castle was in the gallery.[63] At Inchtalla in 1692 the virginals were kept in a ground floor hall.[64]Lady Home kept the virginals in the gallery at Floors in 1624.[65]Other examples from her inventories show the virginals in more private spaces. At Moray House the virginals were in a little gallery outside her unmarried daughter's bedchamber. At Twickenham Park they were also placed in a lobby outside a bedchamber, and another pair was set up in an inner dining room. In these positions the music could be heard by those in an outer reception room. In the 1640s at Donibristle the virginals were placed in a new small dining room, probably used by women in a similar manner to the dining room of the all-female household at Twickenham. The corridor or lobby outside a bedchamber remained a popular location: at Balgonie in 1675 the virginals were kept outside the lady's chamber, with a sewing table.[66] A lobby between the gallery and a bedchamber at Hatfield Priory in Essex in 1629 was furnished with a Dutch picture and a pair of virginals.[67] In these cases the virginals were not in a woman's bedchamber but deliberately placed outside.

This is a necessarily very small survey, but it appears significant that the virginals were either in the hall or gallery, or in these lobbies outside a woman's bedchamber, but not in the bed chambers or cabinets. There is therefore no reason to suppose that playing the virginals was a solitary activity without accompaniment or audience. These little lobbies where the women played music were trances and galleries at the thresholds of the bedchambers, perhaps functioning as antechambers to the bedchambers. The lobby virginal may have been dedicated to practice, if there was another instrument in the gallery. The use of the

[62]*Unton Inventories*, 10, 25: W. Fraser, *Book of Carlaverock*, vol.2 (Edinburgh, 1873), 502.

[63] NRS GD 150/2843/2, Aberdour 1647: Glamis Mss P639/90.

[64] Fraser, *Red Book of Menteith*, i, 499-500.

[65] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 9, Floors Castle.

[66] NRS GD26/6/70, Balgonie 1675: NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1.

[67] Lowndes, 'Inventory of Hatfield Priory', 163.

antechamber suggests an aspect of bedchamber etiquette; that the solitary use of the virginals in bedchambers was discouraged on moral grounds; that professional musicians who tutored women were not to be admitted to bedchambers; that music played in these corridors could be appreciated or supervised by people in other rooms (perhaps to pleasing acoustic effect); that use of these threshold spaces allowed the participation of companies that might not be admitted to the bedchamber.

The inventory evidence shows the virginals were played by young unmarried women in these households. Unmarried women were not provided with drawing chambers, as they were not expected to entertain independently of parents or guardians. They could play the virginals for guests in the hall or gallery, the most public part of the house. Unlike games boards the virginals were not brought into the new drawing chambers in Scotland. The placing of the virginals in lobby spaces near bedchambers may have had its origin both in allowing collaborative music making to those who were not yet permitted their own private social space, and ensuring that young women did not play music in seclusion.

6:4 Health & washing

Washing and sanitation is treated here with games and music, since its equipment is recorded in the same rooms and similar issues of morality and privacy apply. Early modern elites washed and defecated using close stools in their bedchambers. Other members of the household and servants presumably used privies in the garden. Equipment for personal hygiene is not very conspicuous in inventories. Combs, which were bought in sets in cases, are sometimes found in registered wills, but as they were usually of little value they were not included in household inventories. Precious metal toothpicks were recorded in royal and aristocratic inventories, and James III had a gold ear-pick.[68] There were jet and silver toothpick cases and gold toothpicks in the bedchamber cabinet at Donibristle.[69]

There is evidence for washing and bathing in the closets of royal palaces.[70] Water was carried to bedchambers in pots for washing. The number of water pots in a house can correlate well with the number of guests of higher rank expected; there were twelve at Dalkeith, eight at

[68] Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 5.

[69] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1 Donibristle (c. 1640): Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, vol.2, no.253.

[70] Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces*, 134-5.

Brechin in the 1620s, seven at Balloch and only three at Finlarig, which was probably not used for entertaining on a grand scale.[71] Brechin Castle seems to have been used by large parties as a staging post associated with hunting by the Earls of Mar at Braemar, and was equipped to accommodate the royal visit of 1617.[72] Dalkeith near Edinburgh was a large palace which had frequently accommodated the court. The wardrobe there contained twelve torches, as if to light the way to the twelve bedchambers served by the twelve water pots.[73]

Water pots and basins were set up on tables in bed chambers, which were often decribed as 'comptars' in the sixteenth-century. Bedroom plate included drinking vessels: bedchamber furnishing brought from Tantallon in 1582 there was 'ane basing and ewer of silver with two cupis'.[74] Though basins, lavers, washing jugs, cloths and towels are present in many inventories from 1483 onwards, it is rarely possible to tell if these were for use in the hall or for washing in the bedchamber, as most are listed in the pantry, wardrobe, or in lists of plate. In France too, baths and basins were usually kept in the wardrobe, and are not found in inventories of rooms.[75]Most of the 'chamber plate' listed in the inventory of Lady Home in 1631, kept in a cupboard in her bedchamber, was for eating, except perhaps a round water pot said to be made in the fashion of the Duchess of Richmond (Frances Howard), and a basin made in the Queen's fashion (Henrietta Maria).[76]

James V had two silver basins, one for washing his feet, the other for washing his head, with a water pot and a basin described as for the bed. Mary also had two silver washing basins, perhaps the same ones that had belonged to her father, one described as 'un grand bassin d'argent à laver la teste'.[77]In her bedchamber Anne Home, the future Lady Lauderdale, had a can for water, and a wooden tub to wash her feet in, as if she some kind of ailment requiring regular bathing.[78]The household bathing tub at Moray House was kept in the wardrobe, and

[71] Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth,* 330.

[72] J. Taylor, *Early Prose & Poetical Works* (London, 1888), 49-50.

[73] NRS GD90/2/52, Dalkeith 1622.

[74]*CSP Scot*., vol.6 (1910), no.183.

[75]*Acts of the Lords Auditors of Cause and Complaints*, (Edinburgh, 1809), 123*: Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter à Paris*, 57: Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 321.

[76] NRAS 217 box 5 no.5, fol.7v., 'Fyve silver arms with lyons heads three of which were Queene Mothers'

[77] Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 72-3: Labanoff, *Lettres*, vii, 242.

[78] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5, fol.16r.

set up for use in the bedchambers or the most convenient space. In 1644 Lady Home bought some new bathing technologies, a bath tub, a 'new fashioned' pewter cistern, and a new kind of close-stool.[79]In 1670 the bathing 'fat' at Tantallon was in the dining room. This may have been the most suitable place to provide hot water and comfort in the lodgings. Such instances are a reminder that practicality may have often overcome etiquette. Tubs for clothes washing listed in inventories may also have served for bathing. The tubs were lined with sheets and used under elaborate canopies which shielded the user from draughts and would offer privacy in spaces like the Tantallon dining room. Yet there were dedicated bathing places: Regent Moray had a 'baith stoif', a bath furnace in the 1560s. The term suggests that Moray took health advice from the works of Gilbert Hay, who mentioned bathing and stoves in the 1490s.[80]

Castles had been built with privies or garderobes with shafts leading from bedchambers to external drainage or cess-pits. There were also communal latrines for other household members.[81] The bedchamber privies were intended only for the use of the elites. In the sixteenth-century the privy was superseded by the close or dry stool. These are box-like seats with pans that were removed and emptied by servants. Dry stools are more conspicuous in inventories after the 1560s, but the architectural evidence of mural closets shows that they were widespread earlier in the century.[82]Many surviving buildings lack privy shafts and sometimes have small mural closets suitable for the use of the dry stool. In Scotland, following the lead of James IV and James V, early modern elites preferred the use of chamber pots, close-stools, and bed pans. The same change occurred concurrently in England.

As Mark Girouard noted the seat and pan were an improvement on the privy, needing less maintenance than the shafts, pits and drainage brought near to the house, though the practice seems a set-back in technological terms.[83] Medieval castle builders were well aware that the

[79] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1, f. 18, Donibristle.

[80] W. Fraser, ed., *Douglas Book*, vol.3 (Edinburgh 1885), p.343-4 no.274: *HMC 6th Report*, 648: J. Glenn ed., *Buke of the ordre of knychthede: and the Buke of the gouernaunce of princis* (Edinburgh 1993), 109.

[81] G. Keevil, *An Archaeology of Medieval Palaces* (Stroud, 2000), 153.

[82] HMC *6th report & appendix*, (1870), 648, 658.

[83] Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces*, 196-7: Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 249: M. Howard, 'Fashionable living' in M. Snodin & J. Styles, *Design and the Decorative Arts* (London, 2001), 101.

privy could become foul and shafted latrines were tucked away to reduce the effect of their noxious smells rather than to satisfy motivations of prudery and embarrassment. The stools, rapidly refreshed by servants, did not share this disadvantage and were used in bedchambers and other reception rooms. However, the presence of the stool (and servants carrying waste) may have caused new embarrassments.

In the period 1500–1650 there is evidence of varying deployments of the close stool. At first sight practices do not seem to show a progressive evolution of concepts of bodily privacy, as suggested by Norbert Elias in his *Civilising Process*. Elias believed in general progress from relatively unrestrained medieval manners to increasing self-control and disciplining routines regulated by shame, though he did not insist that development was linear. In his bigger picture manners evolved from feudal *curtoisie* to *civilité*. Bodily functions were increasingly hidden from the polite gaze as a 'threshold of repugnance' decreased, a concept equivalent to Foucault's 'austerity'.[84]The relative silence of later conduct manuals on bodily function may be taken as evidence of the success of increased 'threshold of repugnance'. Elias's ideas of progress were drawn in part from the study of sixteenth-century and early-modern conduct books like Erasmus' *De Civilitate*. Elias's idea of progress has been criticised by medievalists who find equivalent maxims in earlier works, and more instances of strictures on bodily functions.[85]Some aspects of the use of the close-stool in Scotland, France and England, discussed below, appear to bring excretion back into more public domestic spaces. This evidence does not fit a picture of progression couched simply in terms of 'threshold of repugnance', but could be considered as part of a wider figuration of the increased group privacy in rooms of restricted access, where embarrassment is contained within a group of peers segregated from lower classes.

In Scottish inventories the stools were called dry stools, dry close stools, dry seats, dry stools of ease, chamber stools or boxes, usually listed with their pot. At Yester in 1580 bedchambers were equipped with a 'drystuill of eas' and a 'stuill of eas'.[86]'Flanders dry stools' mentioned

[84]D. Smith, "The Civilizing Process" and "The History of Sexuality": Comparing Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault', *Theory and Society*, vol. 28, no. 1 (Feb. 1999), pp. 79-100, 87.

[85] Elias, *Civilising Process*, 99, 110, 443: J. Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England'*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, vol. 12, (2002), pp. 267-289, 274.

[86] NRS GD110/1324.

in the sixteenth-century were probably imported, but examples were still described as Flanders stools or boxes long after other types of furniture ceased to be described as Flanders.[87] The English term 'close-stool' was only adopted in the seventeenth century, presumably by those who had English connections, as seen in bed terminology.

The stools could have expensive upholstery; in Mary's inventory a velvet covered stool with two basins appears as the pierced chair, the usual French term with a velvet cover; 'une chese persee couvert de veloux garnye de deux bassins.'[88] The stools could be upholstered en-suite with beds and bedchamber furniture – clearly indicating that they were used in the bedchamber. Other royal dry stools were regularly reupholstered with luxury fabrics salvaged from old beds, canopies, and tablecloths. Aristocrats' best bedchambers were still furnished with matching stools in the seventeenth-century.[89]Sometimes the luxury depended on the service rather than the decoration of the stool, lesser and more robust royal stools were 'coverit with ledder and bandit about with irne.'[90] However, there is no evidence that the less elaborate stools were used by lower ranks – the use of a stool was a luxury only afforded to important family members and guests of rank.

In theory the stools were portable. Seventeenth-century Parisian inventories locate them in wardrobes.[91] But in Scotland manystools remained in rooms;eithera mural closet was used (see Fig. 6:2), or they were placed behind a screen upholstered to match room suites. Inventories list them in rooms and stored in wardrobes. Inventories list extra pots for the stools, and these were used to replace the pots being emptied and cleaned by the servants. At Caerlaverock in 1640 five 'pots for easement' were stored in a room near the best bedchambers.[92]Inventories always list many more chamber pots, which were placed in the bedchambers used by lower ranks.

[87] NRS GD16/37/13, Tantallon 1592.

[88] Robertson, *Inventaires*, 177-8.

[89] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 13, fol.14v, best bed chamber, Twickenham, 'ane close stull coverit with the same silver velvet and hes a cottin caice and the sait is of crimsone velvet'.

[90] Thomson, *Collection of inventories*, 139, 141, 214.

[91] Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter à Paris*, 57.

[92] Fraser, *Book of Carlaverock*, vol.2, 503.

The provision of stools was correlated with rank. There were three at Castle Stuart in 1638 for use in the three best bedchambers.[93]The other six bedchambers had only chamber pots, and lacked wall-hangings and had significantly less lavish furnishings. Inventories which list objects rather than room contents suggest that larger numbers of close-stools point to more hospitality in high-status guest chambers. There were eight stools at Dalkeith Palace in 1622 – paralleling the dozen water pots that can be associated with guest bedchambers.[94] But at Brechin in 1627 there were only two, covered with leather, despite there being eight water pots. Perhaps Brechin still had garderobes. At Floors in 1648 there were ten 'chamber stools' including two covered with velvet matching the best beds. They were accompanied by twenty chamber pots suggesting at least ten lesser bedchambers. No stools were listed at Huntly in 1648, which was perhaps an oversight, but dry stools and chamber pots were noted in most of the best bedrooms at the Bog o'Gight.

Attitudes to bodily privacy have changed since the early modern period. Peter Thornton'ssuggestion that stools were almost always stowed away out of sight in the bedchamber or used in a bedchamber closet may be a reflection of slightly later manners. He thought it unusual and doubted that as late as 1553 Eleanora of Toledo had a close stool in her bedchamber in Florence, though Cellini reported encountering her using it.[95] In Scotland there is evidence of four different ways of using the close-stool. Firstly, the monarch used the stool under a canopy with curtains in the bedchamber. Secondly, the stool could be stored in a bedchamber and brought out for use. Thirdly, bedchambers could be provided with small closets for the stools, which appear to be successors of the privy garderobe with a chute. Fourthly, the stool could be used behind a screen in a bedchamber or in other rooms, including drawing chambers. These useswere concurrent and cannot be convincingly represented as steps in a progress from medieval to modern sensibilities. However, these uses were all recorded in a period when the number of rooms in an apartment increased, when access to these spaces by guests and outsiders was increasingly controlled. In some of these circumstances privacy may have slightly decreased but the situations were shared only by other members of the elite.

[93] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 828, Castle Stuart.

[94] NRS GD90/2/52, Dalkeith 1622.

[95] Thornton, 'Commentary on the Hardwick Inventory', 16-7: Thornton, *Italian Interior Decoration*, 248 & n.8, 298.

At least one of James V's canopies was purpose-made from fabric bought in Paris in 1538 later described as 'ane cannabie of grene taffetie freinyeit ith grene quhilk may serve for ane dry stuill or bed'. The purchase of the canopy in France suggests that it was customary in the French court. Thornton associated curtained stools with the French court, and particularly Catherine de' Medici, and suggested that a close-stool with a curtain in the Faringdon inventory might have been imported by the former ambassador to France, Sir Henry Unton.[96]The colours and fabrics of canopies in the royal accounts and inventories seem to match the best beds. Another canopy was red, a third yellow canopy was lost in the explosion at the Kirk o'Field in 1567.[97] This latter reference shows that the canopies continued to be used. Close-stools with curtains have not been found outside the Scottish royal record.

There is evidence for storing the stool in bedchambers. At Dumbarton Castle in 1579, the Constable's bedchamber had a 'little hous for ane dry stule.'[98] This may have been a small closet or wall cavity for storing or using the stool. There are four low-level aumbries at Stirling Palace which could be suitable little-houses for close stools. It has been suggested that these were for portable urinals for men, the authors arguing that the position of the aumbries, only in public or male rooms allow this gendered interpretation.[99] However, the existence of the portable urinal is otherwise unattested, and it seems more likely that these aumbries were for close-stools of the usual type.

Abundant architectural evidence survives of small bedchamber closets suitable for the use of the close stool. These small closet spaces found within sixteenth-century bedchambers were the successors of privies with chutes. Although inventories provide little or no evidence that stools were placed in such closets, many buildings from the diminutive Carsluith Castle in Galloway to Aberdour Castle in Fife have sixteenth-century principal bedchambers with mural closets suitable for close stools. At Glamis in 1648 several bedchambers had an 'easement room' with a Flanders box and pan.[100] Similarly, a close stool was kept in the

[96] Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 399 n. 159; *Italian Interior Decoration*, 248-9: *Unton Inventories*, 21.

[97] Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 47, 138-9, 208, 214: Robertson, *Inventaires*, 33, 167: *Treasurer's Accounts*, vii, 29.

[98] *Register of the Privy* Council, iii, 320.

[99] D. Gallagher & G. Ewart, *History and Archaeology of Stirling Palace* (Edinburgh, 2008), 56.

[100] Glamis Mss P639/90.

'wodhous' in the gallery at Moray House in 1631, suggests a space partitioned off from the room.

Fig. 6:2 Lady at her toilet, Utrecht School c. 1670, (Minneapolis Institute of Arts) The inclusion of the closet is unusual. The painting is an allegory of vanity.[101]

These seventeenth-century easement rooms might not mark a new sensibility, rather the compilers of inventories did not always think it necessary to recognise the close-stool closet as a distinct space. If there was a closet for a close-stool within a bedchamber, then it would have been unnecessary to spell this detail out. Peter Thornton thought this the typical seventeenth-century arrangement, citing architectural and inventory evidence from England and Holland. He proposed that the close stool was only brought into a bedroom in special circumstances, an impression given by an illustration by Abraham Bosse of a doctor about to administer an enema. Yet the chair is upholstered and matches the others ranged around the room in the engraving (Fig. 6:3).

[101] M. Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-century Dutch Art* (Los Angeles 2002), 86-7.

Fig. 6:3 Les Metiers, plate 2, *Le Clystère*, Abraham Bosse, French, c.1640. In style the chair is a good match for others in the bedchamber so does not seem to be an intrusion.

Thornton saw in the Dutch and German terms for the closet *secreet camerken*, *secret* and *das heimliches Gemach* (secret room) evidence of fastidiousness and discretion.[102] However, these words and the English word *privy* have a wide spectrum of meaning, and medieval origins, and are unlikely to capture seventeenth-century attitudes. 'Privy' denoted the remoteness of the medieval latrine, its exclusive use by elites, its concealment because of its odour rather than a desire to conceal the bodily functions, while directly describing bodily reticence and shame in phrases like *privy parts*.[103] Evidence for using the stool in bedchambers and drawing chambers behind screens suggests that attitudes to the toilet in Britain in the first half of the seventeenth-centurywere not yet fixed.

An entry in the 1624 inventory of Floors links the stool with screens found in bedchambers; 'ane skrein cloith & ane close stule ane fram to the skrein'. This arrangement is also found in

[102] Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 325-6.

[103] *OED*, privy.

the inventories of her English houses, at Twickenham the stool in the best bedchamber was upholstered with the same silver velvet as the bed and screen:

> Item a fram for a skrein gilted & painted reid with a cotton caice and a knob to it
> Item ane close stull coverit with the same silver velvet and hes a cottin caice and the sait is of crimsone velvet.[104]

The frame of the screen was painted red to match elements of the painted bedstead. As the matching stool was en-suite, it was clearly not intended to be hidden away. The room also had a matching fire–screen.Thissilver velvet suite was later used at Dunibristle.[105] In 1712 the best bedchamber of Finhaven had 'a skreinge with a box and a pan'.[106]Thornton discussed the screen only as a device to exclude draughts, which is the literal meaning of the equivalent French term *paravent*, and did not discuss its use to hide the close stool or closet. Early citations in the *Oxford English Dictionary* are mostly for fire-screens.[107] Perhaps this use of the screen and stool in the best bedchamber does not much differ from the use of the canopy and stool in the bedchamber by royals. The user was concealed and yet conspicuous to other people in the room. The inventories of Lady Home's bedchambers at Floors and Moray House describe the contents of small spaces in the bedchamber which could have been used for the close stool but were instead devoted to storage. Use of the screen has some practical advantages, allowing the use of stools in rooms without closets, making spaces adaptable. Both the screen and the canopy used by monarchs would indeed help to exclude draughts from the user of the close-stool, but avoiding embarrassment seems likely to have been the motivation.

In sixteenth-century usage the close-stools were placed only in bedchambers.Seventeenth-century inventories list close stools in shared contexts. A close-stool placed in a mural closet in a passage at the Binns served two lesser bedchambers.[108]Occupants of these rooms had an 'almost-privileged' experience. A 'Flanders stool of ease' was kept in the gallery at Balloch

[104] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 9, Floors 1624; box 5 no. 13, fol.14v, Twickenham.

[105] NRAS 217 box 5 no.1202, Donibristle 1653.

[106] A. Jervise, *History and traditions of the land of the Lindsays in Angus and Mearns* (Edinburgh, 1853), 341.

[107] Thornton, *Seventeenth-CenturyInterior Decoration*, 255: *OED* 'screen' and 'sper'.

[108] J. Dalyell, 'Inventory of Plenishing at the Binns', *PSAS*, (1924-5), 361.

in 1600, probably in a closet.[109] At Moray House stools and screens were placed in reception rooms including the'drawing room next to the gallery'. Other rooms had screens, but no stools, but three stools kept in the wardrobe may have been brought to these rooms. The logic may be that visitors did not have to be brought into the (mostly female) bedchamber spaces and were not abashed to use the stools behind screens when others were present. Custom at Moray House was perhaps modelled on practices in fashionable London town houses in 1630s, a theme developed in Chapter Nine.

The gallery close-stool might be interpreted as a courtesy to guests, extending the use of the stool to all those who were invited to enjoy the amenity of the gallery. At Donibristle in the 1640s a close stool and a chamber pot were kept in the 'round' (presumably a turret space) leading off the new little dining room, a dining space for family use. Close-stools were not placed in dining rooms in this period, and stools and mural closets are not found in earlier halls. Provision of the dry stools at Moray House in the gallery suite and other rooms indicates that visitors of high rank were expected, who were not necessarily staying in the house. The dry stools may have been for visitors – those who stayed long enough to play the games of tables or billiards in the gallery. How did visitors approach the subject of using the stool? In attempting to imagine such a scene it must be remembered that host and guest were accompanied by their own servants. Much organising and communication of intentions and expectations would have been exchanged by the servants, who were employed precisely to ease such negotiation.

This ordinary business of hospitality was not usually recorded, but there is an example from Mary's personal reign. According to the confession of Mary's French valet Nicolas Hubert called French Paris, Bothwell asked him to find a toilet and help him use it at the Kirk o'Field. While the narrative may or may not closely reflect actual events it does demonstrate a concern for the detail of court etiquette. Getting the correct detail of etiquette lent credence to the rest of the story. Bothwell wanted to enlist the valet's help to obtain the keys, and asked him to take him to the toilet in order to have a private conversation. During this conversation Paris pointed out that ushers of a royal court rather than valets held the keys.[110] Other points of etiquette in the narrative may be reliable. French Paris readily helped

[109] Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth,* 329.

[110] Pitcairn, *Ancient Criminal Trials*, vol. 1 part 2 (Edinburgh, 1833), 502-6.

Bothwell find the ‘trou’ (literally ‘hole’) even though he was unfamiliar with the building and did not know where it was. Bothwell told Paris that he had bloody diarrhoea, and this detail may suggest that he was not expected to use the toilet during a brief visit to the royal lodging. Bothwell clearly did not expect to use the stool and canopy set up for Lord Darnley or the queen. What seems routine in this story is that Bothwell whispered his needs in the host’s servant’s ear while others were present. This much must have been usual, and Bothwell must have beckoned to Paris in the accustomed manner to begin the encounter.

Dry stools described in inventories gave evidence of wider societal changes. The royal stool with its canopy was used in a bedchamber, the canopy offering privacy in a public space. Bedrooms provided with rooms of easement offer new levels of bodily privacy. In the seventeenth-century, close-stools emerged from bedchamber spaces to serve new clusters of reception rooms, like the little dining room, the drawing chamber, or the semi-public gallery. Access to these rooms was more limited by rank and thus bodily privacy was preserved.

6:5 Conclusion

This chapter has located games and music in aristocratic houses during the long sixteenth century. Board games were found in halls or galleries. The gallery seems to have been a more private recreational space than the hall, used by the family and selected guests enjoying group privacy. Games boards were not found in bedchamber spaces until the seventeenth-century when they were placed in withdrawing chambers. In the early seventeenth-century house the withdrawing chamber should be regarded as the most private space in a public cluster of rooms, the threshold of the bedchamber, or the most public space of a bedroom cluster. Activities like games that had taken place in hall or gallery and the use of the close stool, previously only used in bedchambers, now took place in the drawing chamber.

Scottish inventories locatethe virginals or organs in the hall or gallery. They were not found in bedchambers and perhaps surprisingly do not appear in the new withdrawing-rooms. Interestingly in some inventories the virginals are located in lobbies outside ladies bedchambers. The virginals were practised by unmarried women as an accomplishment. The hall or gallery was a suitable space for women to show their skills. The bedchamber lobbies may perhaps be considered as analogues of drawing-chambers for unmarried women who were not allocated drawing-chambers of their own, playing on the threshold of shared

reception rooms. The lobby space was a compromise, perhaps allowing a limited audience, but reducing a perceived moral risk of solitary music-playing in the bedchamber space itself.

For the elites, hygiene had been centred on the bedchamber. Close-stools were provided for the highest ranks of the family and their guests, while only chamber pots were placed in lesser bedchambers. Other provisions for sanitation or hygiene are rarely visible in the inventory record. Sixteenth-century inventories close-stools are invariably located in bed chambers, while some seventeenth-century inventories find them in reception rooms like galleries and drawing chambers. This is most noticeable in the Edinburgh townhouse of Lady Home, Moray House, and is there perhaps an indication of an urban visiting culture, where guests of rank might make prolonged visits but did not stay overnight. This new courtesy overcame repugnance, squeamishness or embarrassment, but also highlighted the exclusive nature of the new reception room. Access to these rooms was limited to those invited to use the stool, a sub-group akin to those who might stay in best bedchambers. Potential embarrassment was confined within a restricted circle of invitees, so in this wider context the drawing room close-stool should not be seen as reversing a trend towards increasing bodily privacy. Games-playing, music and sanitation may seem disparate activities but this chapter has demonstrated how they were affected by changes in room use and were relocated. In the sixteenth century these were activities performed in different parts of the house, in the hall or gallery or in their bedchambers.

Chapter Seven: Cabinets, sustenance, health and the creation of knowledge

7:1 Introduction

The closet or cabinet wasa room entered from the bedchambers of aristocratic men and women. These most intimate rooms in the house could have a strong gender identity. Lena Cowen Orlin provides a discussion and historiography of the closet, recognising that for the historian closets are 'convenient conceptual containers for the subjectivities, genderings, and sexualities in which we persistently interest ourselves'.[1]Sources do provide a gendered picture of the closet. Contemporary pictures of learned leisure practised by men can be balanced by the recognitionofwomen's activities based on practical skills both as leisure and as a pursuit of knowledge.

Indoor leisure was summed upas 'recreations of the mind indoors' by Robert Burton in his chapter 'Exercise rectified', as a remedy to the idleness that leads to melancholy. Burton made extensive suggestions for male leisure which constructed a well-rounded male and gentlemanly identity, but for women recommended only textile crafts, making confectionaries and conserves, and distillation. These were social activities resulting in products, 'which they shew to strangers', guests who might join in this form of domestic production and learn from one another.[2]In practice, these activities might be conducted separately from thehousehold production in the kitchen or household offices, altering the balance of domesticity. As the preserve of the elite womantheycould be regarded as leisure.

Recipe books show that ingredients and equipment were common to both physic and making sweetmeats. Food and medicine were both recognised in humoral medicine for their effects on the body. Banqueting, physic and alchemy in practice and in conception overlapped, Habington writes of 'kitchin alchimy': Haviland's recipe book, *A Closet for Ladies and Gentlemen* deals both with 'banqueting stuff' and 'soveraigne medicines and salves'.[3]The exchange of products like conserves and confectionary and remediescan be analysed as gifts

[1] Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, chpt. 8, p. 297.

[2] R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, (5th ed., London, 1638), 262-283 (part 2 sect.2 memb. 4).

[3] Habington, *Castara*, 'To my noblest friend I. P.': J. Haviland, *A Closet for Ladies and Gentlemen* (London, 1636).

given to reinforce social networks.[4]William Habington wrote of an ideal wife ‘shee is much at home, and when she visits, ‘tis for mutuall commerce, not for intelligence’, meaning by commerce visits for this economy of knowledge rather thanfor gossip.[5]

The involvement of elite women in domestic production, creative and productive housekeeping, diminished throughout the eighteenth century, perhaps in tandem with new patterns of consumerism, a process beginning in England perhaps at the Restoration.[6] However, Lady Home’s inventories showthat sweetmeat and medicine making were, at least in some households, distinct and distanced from kitchen production in the early seventeenth century, and a pursuit, a pastime,rather than workaday household routine. This may be seen as appropriation and affirmation of certain activities and a genteel rejection of involvement in others, a partial step perhaps in the direction of ‘domesticity’ understood as the ennui of leisure without occupation appointed for elite women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The activities reserved were those that affected greatest skill and knowledge, consumed the rarest and most expensive ingredients, employed costly equipment, and offered exquisite delights in taste and the promise of health. Wendy Wall has argued that treatment of these activities in contemporary playsspeaks of their role in a collective and uncanny fantasy of female power, a vision of empowered domesticity.[7]This empowered domesticity was expressed in Lady Home’s townhouse and may indeed have appeared uncanny to some of her guests, much as the detail of stills and glass vessels in her inventory is still surprising.

Women’s practice of physic was described as ‘kitchen physic’ althoughthe actual location of the activityin the house is rarely discussed. In the 1620s and 1630s Lady Home kept sweetmeat making and serving equipment and distillation apparatus in her bedroom closets and cabinets, and had mortars and pestles in most of her reception rooms. She did not to have had a stillroom in any of her houses, and the inventories of kitchen stuff are limited to the

[4]A. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (Yale, 2014), 55-68, 83-4: N. Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth- Century France* (Madison, 2000), 9: M. Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (New York, 1967), 1, 58–9.

[5] Habington, *Castara*, part 2, ‘A Wife’.

[6] J. Day, ‘Elite Women’s Household Management: Yorkshire, 1680-1810’, 11-12, 27-8.

[7] W. Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, 2002), 1, 3, 9, 11, 24.

usual items used by cooks.So it seems that she prepared medicines and foodstuffs in spaces in her bedchamber suite.

Writers, including Richard Whitlock who despisedwomen's medical knowledge, classed using the still and making sweetmeats as leisure and 'entertaining for their souls'.[8]These activities andan interest in scientific apparatus, an engagement of some kind with natural philosophy, may have been conceptualized as a programme of recreation of mind and body, to take Wendy Wall's phrase 'staged domesticity', in a domestic performance of knowledge. Production of these foods and remedies reinforced a gendered role for women as nurturers and the subjects of paintings in Lady Home's collection, especially the *Roman Charity* show that shewasaware of her assumption of that role.

7:2 The Closet and leisure

In the seventeenth century a bed chamber could be provided with a new and larger closet, cabinet or study. These suites have been described as an 'inflation of privacy'. A closet or study may have been used for writing and reading by men or women – Lady Home had a cabinet with forty two books. These cabinets might also house collections of natural and scientific curiosities. Women's reading in closet and cabinet is reasonably well-documented and attracts much scholarly attention.The inventories of Donibristle and Moray House in the 1630sinclude the contents of closets used by the Countess of Home and her daughter Lady Moray. These were newly created or re-fashioned spaces adjacent to their bedchambers. Investigation into room use can lead to interesting questions about the framework of ostentation and privacy afforded to elites, and to an archaeology of self, 'inwardness' and 'subjective interiority'.[9] However closets and cabinetswere not furnished exclusively for

[8] R. Whitlock, *Zootomia, or, Observations of the present manners of the English* (London 1654), 342.

[9]K. R. Larson, 'Reading the Space of the Closet in Aemilia Lanyer's "Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum", *Early Modern Women*, vol. 2, (Fall 2007), pp. 73-93, 91 n.13: H. Ronnes, 'A Solitary Place of Retreat', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 8, Issue 2 (June 2004), pp 101-117: Ronnes*, Architecture and Elite Culture in the United Provinces, England and Ireland, 1500-1700*, 123, 144: McKeon, *Secret History of Domesticity : Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge*, 228: E. Longfellow, 'Public, Private, and the

solitary study and devotion but also for activities with close friends, and some were as accommodating as drawing rooms.Here, private spaces are simply contrasted with more public spaces, in terms of access for outsiders to the family group.

Making medicine or foodstuffs may be identified as domestic labour by modern theorists, but here they seem to have been leisure, not unlike modern hobbies of home-brewing, often pursued by the middle-classes. In the early seventeenth century, concepts of leisure and recreation were differently nuanced. In the Renaissance and early modern period the terms of classical philosophy *otium* and *negotium* were used in thinking of a variety of opposing concepts; of idleness and work, ease and labour, contemplation and business, the private and public sphere, private and political endeavour, contemplative withdrawal and citizenship.[10] Opportunities for leisure activities deemed legitimate were increasingly promoted and permitted by moralists in the early modern period.[11]In Lady Home's case we have descriptions of the contents of the closet and the titles of herbals and works on physic which informed her leisure. Shemade no distinction between the cabinet as a locus for work, study and domestic production in the form of physic and certain banqueting stuff, and the cabinet where collections were displayed. In France these activities might be separated in cabinets of varying degrees of grandeur.[12]

Robert Burton classed certain kinds of women's domestic production as leisure, as *otium*.Burton promoted 'labours, exercises and recreations' as wholesome 'exercise rectified'finding that 'to some it is both business and a pleasant recreation' to oversee building works or reckon accounts.[13]Burton was happy to blur distinctions between *otium* and

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Household in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 45, No. 2 (April 2006), pp.

313-334: K. Maus, *Inwardness and Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Chicago, 1995), 26–30.

[10] C. Curtis, 'The Active and Contemplative in Shakespeare's Plays', in D. Armitage e*d., Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought*, (Cambridge 2009), 44-63.

[11]P. Burke, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe',*Past & Present*, No. 146 (Feb., 1995), pp. 136-150.

[12] Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter à Paris*, 83-91.

[13] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 262-3, 274.

negotium or leisure and business, at least in this domestic sphere. When we find early-modern aristocratic women building or making accounts we might consider this activity, both business and recreation, as ambivalent, before judging it either as burdensome or empowering. The contents of a cabinet could be described as of a 'recreative' character because closet activities encompass recreation in the sense of leisure with'exercise rectified' and in the case of Lady Home 'recreation' in the sense of healing, both as a safeguard against melancholy, and literally 'recreative' where medicinal remedies were produced and consumed. The evidence of inventories and spaces can contribute to a history of intimacy by revealing these shared activities – activities with products which women 'shew to strangers.' These social activities are conspicuous in records of women's closets and cabinets, where apparatus or sets of plates and vessels point to group activity. Objects that reveal these activities are not exactly thesouvenir objects imbued with personal meanings discussed by Ranum, but can be eloquent through their function and location.[14]

Some closet spaces had been intended for prayer. Pre-Reformation royal oratories contained altars and vestments.[15]There were two oratories at Calder in 1566. At Newtownthe mid great chamber had an oratory in 1587. At Brechin the lady's chamber had a cabinet and an oratory in 1622.[16]Mark Girouard suggests that English closets may have been oratories and considered a fit place for Protestant prayer.[17]Spaces used by men were sometimes called studies. Some were used for business, like that at Balloch in 1605 furnished with a 'secreit', a piece of furniture for keeping records.[18]Some studies contained books and were used for reading.[19] Burton, Christ Church's librarian, quoted the physician Cardanus that a library was physic for the soul.[20]Forty-two books kept in Lady Home's closet were recorded in an inventory.[21]In the 1620s Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun recommended reading in history, cosmography and geography as leisure that provided an insight which 'becommes a man of

[14]Orest Ranum, 'The Refuges of Intimacy', in R. Chartier, *History of Private Life*, iii, (Harvard 1989), pp. 207-63, 207-8, 210, 258.

[15] Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces*, 134-5.

[16] NLS MS.5114, Brechin inventory: Bain, *Records of the burgh of Prestwick*, 137: *Protocol book of Thomas Johnsoun*, 100-3.

[17] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 58.

[18] Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth*, 344.

[19] McKean, *Scottish Chateau*, 74.

[20] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 279.

[21] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1, inventory of Donibristle House

qualitie'.Gordon contrasted quietness and privacy in the study with physical exercise. He advised the Earl of Sutherland to restrict the number of his companions when withdrawing and to select companions for their discretion, 'let them be boith trustie and secret that yow admit, for eschewing of careing tales and reports abroad'.[22] This sharedprivacy scenario was discussed by Alan Stewart, where the closet is a centre for knowledge-processing for secret advantage. The relationship between a noble and an assistant or secretary was a locus for envy, expressed in homo-erotic terms. The closet became a metaphor for secrecy, a metaphorical space and a site of sexual anxiety, obscuring the reality of the physical space.[23] Traditionally, wives were supposed to be excluded from the man's closet and his business affairs, an idea advocated by Alberti[24] At Donibristle items listed in Lord Moray's desk and closet sound like luxuries imported by John Clerk. Moray employed English joiners to panel the room in 1649 and asked for Clerk's advice on the design.[25] It was omitted in inventories kept by his wife and mother-in-law.

At Huntly in 1648, the late Marquess' bedroom closet contained papers in trunks and cabinets and a large number of books and was probably typical of the business room.[26] Its two stools suggest the attendance of steward or secretary and three candlesticks may suggest working into the night or long winter days. A woman's business space can be identified in the Yester inventory of 1580. There a bedchamber called an 'outer chamber' contained the business papers of the widowed Margaret Hay, lady Bass, including; a charter chest of letters and books, a chest of writs, in the keeping of one Margaret Willis.[27]She was presumably a servant who helped lady Bass with her paperwork, a female secretary. If so, she may have used the room as her bedchamber.

Many aristocratic widows and wives had control over property, and Lady Bass's use of this outer chamber as business room may not have been unusual. The mental geography contrasts with the male study or closet because that was sequestered beyond the bedchamber, while the

[22] Fraser, *Sutherland Book*, ii, 363-4.

[23]Stewart, 'The Early Modern Closet Discovered', 87.

[24] Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, 311: Wigley, 'Untitled: the housing of gender', 332: Chico, 'Privacy and Speculation in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain', 40-60.

[25] NRS GD18/2489 no. 13: NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1202.

[26]NRS GD44/49/13/1/5 Huntly 1648.

[27] NRS GD110/1324, Yester.

'outer chamber' used by the widow was on the public side of the bedchamber. By the same reversal the precious legal papers and writs were also displaced from the safety and security found beyond the bedchamber and deposited nearer to hall and public sphere. From these few examples it seems that sixteenth-century women conducted their business comparatively *en plein air*, perhaps to avoid the moral ambiguities which surrounded the male closet, and at the same time rejecting the urge for security that underlay the age-old institution of the male closet.

Evidence for male activities in the closet other than reading and writing isscarce in this period, and the closets and cabinets of Lady Home are exceptionally well documented. It seems unlikely that her activities were not paralleled by male Scottish collectors and virtuosi, but it should also be considered that her activities were determined by her English childhood and continuing contact with London culture.

7:3 Making medicine

Preparation and consumption of sweetmeats and medicines in private spaces away from the common kitchen ensured a personal touch, showing that these were refined products uncontaminated by the lower classes, analogous to the guarantees provided in recipe books by their attributions to the authorship of aristocratic women. The activity should also be seen as appropriation of the higher arts of domestic production. Though these craft activities may be denigrated as time consuming busy-work, distillation is contiguous with alchemy. Burton did not expect women to be interested in the appreciation of paintings and prints or to experiment with scientific instruments. In Scotland there is little evidence of women's interest in physic, but in 1602 the Countess of Mar left her servant and assistant Jonet Patersoune 'the whole drugs extant in my possession the time of decease together with my whole stillituries, glasses, leam pots, and other furniture pertaining thereto'.[28]

Lady Home gave more detail of stills and glass vessels.Lady Home seems to have left textile crafts to her housekeepers who embroidered and made up beds.[29] Instead she appears to have been preoccupied with physic, and her inventories list marble and agate pestles and mortars for grinding ingredients in most of her reception rooms, and glass stills for decoctions in

[28] NLS Ms.ch.4031, will of Annabel, Countess of Mar.

[29] NRAS 217 nos. 1, 5, 6, 13, inventories of Floors, Donibristle and the Canongate.

bedchamber or gallery closets. She bought some of this glassware in London: a still cost £1-4s, an alembic 14s.[30]In May 1635 she recorded glassware left in the 'littil closset within my chalmer' at Floors Castle including stills, special glasses and vials, with taps and filters;'of glas a steill, a gryt bottome of still, a grein glas with a sput to put in fitir in in the head of the littil glas'.[31]The glass stills were heated in a *bain-marie* on a fire iron or a trivet, one was described as a 'brander for a still' perhaps to be used on the closet hearth. Possibly charcoal was used, the inventory mentions grates and baskets for charcoal.[32]

Contemporaries associated physic with widows and their public charity, attested by the reputation of the Countess of Kent who was supposed to have spent 'twenty thousand pound a year yearly in physick, receipts, and experiments, and in charity towards the poor'.[33]The production and distribution of physic was a charity with high financial costs, in terms of ingredients and the 'experiments' including the time and labour involved. Experiment at this time normally meant experience or practice. Linda Pollock has described the medical care offered by Grace Mildmay, Countess of Westmorland, recorded by her daughter Mary Fane. Grace Mildmay was prepared to treat a range of ailments as a charitable exercise.[34]The Westmorland and Home families intermarried. Mary Fane's daughter Grace married James 2nd Earl of Home. Letters from the Countess of Westmorland to her daughter advise on physic and cosmetics including face cream, offering advice on pregnancy which Grace should pass on to her in Edinburgh. Westmorland had discussed these ideas with Dr. Leonard Poe, Robert Cecil's doctor, and obtained opinions from the College of Physicians. It is clear that all three women had medical knowledge and negotiated their understanding with learned professionals.[35]

Women's physicattracted hostility from writers like Richard Whitlock, in his essay titled 'The Quacking Hermaphrodite or Pettiecoat Practitioner stript & whipped'. Women had an itch to be somebody, to be accounted good and charitable, needs which might be better fulfilled by needlework, 'employments commendably within their sphere' or paying male

[30] NRAS 217 box 5 no.1, fol.16; box 5 no.5 fol.49v.

[31] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 9, fol. 23.

[32] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5, fols. 33, 51.

[33] C. Jackson, *The Diary of Abraham Pryme*, (Durham 1870), 8.

[34] Pollock, *With Faith & Physic*, 92-109.

[35] NRAS 217 box. 5, nos. 294, 295, 296, 302, Lady Westmorland's letters to Grace, Countess of Home.

practitioners of physic to help the poor.[36]There is no record of Lady Home providing medical treatment as a charity, but it is possible that she did in Edinburgh or London, and she may have had physic gardens. She certainly displayed tokens of her expertise in her houses. Some of her books include guidance for these pursuits; the general work Gervase Markham's *Maison Rustique* and *Husbandry*, Parkinson's *Herbal* and the 'Practise of Physic'.[37]The closet was decorated with paintings which alluded to sustenance, medicine and knowledge. These prominently included the Roman Charity,[38] Martha and Mary,[39] Christ and the Woman of Samaria,[40]pictures with a theme of nourishment discussed below.There were a number of other religious paintings in the closet including pictures of the Virgin Mary and the Flight to Egypt.[41] Although the presence of these paintings might seem evidence of Catholic faith, other indicators like the puritan works in her library, her Harington background and her cousin's continuing service with the Queen of Bohemia suggest that she bought pictures in emulation of current collecting fashion rather than for votive purpose.

The practise of banqueting, a food culture distinct from regular dining,could be regarded as performance or even theatre.[42]Stocks of plates and dishes outside the kitchen and larder point to this private food activity. At Balloch in 1605 plates were kept in the study in the head of the wester tower and in the gallery.[43] At Donibristle in 1651 the contents of a closet for sweetmeats included a marble mortar, twenty gallipots, a scallop-shaped basin, and a

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[36] Whitlock, *Zootomia, or, Observations of the present manners of the English*, 45-61, 54-5.

[37] G. Markham, *Maison rustique, or The countrey farme*, (London 1616): J. Parkinson, *A garden of all sorts of pleasant flowers,* (London 1629): NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1, inventory of books.

[38] NRAS 217 box 5 no.5, Moray House, 'Item ane pickter of ane chemnay peis of ane womane giffing suck to ane mane'.

[39] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 469, 'pictures in my ladyes closet ... It Martha & Maries pictures in ane black & gilded frame'.

[40] Ibid., 'It ane landskip the woman of Samaria and chryst sitting by her in ane black & gold frame': The picture was also hung in Lady Home's drawing chamber at Donibristle, box 5 no.6, fol.3.

[41] Ibid., 'The picture of the virgin mary with the bab upon her knee in ane black frame ... Item ane angel giving a present to the virgin mary in ane black ibonie frame ... It the picture of joseth & marie goeing away with the bab'.

[42] Wall, 'Just a Spoonful of Sugar: Syrup and Domesticity in Early Modern England', 149-172: S. Mueller 'Early Modern Banquet Receipts and Women's Theatre' *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, vol. 24 (2011), pp. 106-130, 110, 118-9.

[43] Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth*, 343.

syllabub pot.[44]Gervase Markham distinguished between 'closet sweetmeats' and'kitchen pastry'. Tarts and wafers did not belong to the 'Pastrie as to the Confectionarie or Closet of sweet meats'.[45] Pastry was a branch of kitchen production: French and Italian tarts and wafers were sweetmeat closet items.Lady Home kept a pair of wafer irons in the inner chamber of her Edinburgh bedchamber.[46]She had a 'paisterie' room at Twickenham Park next to the kitchen where the ordinary business of pie making was performed.[47] Her closet food-making activity was thus distinct from production in the kitchen and office houses, just as Markham said. Distanced from kitchen food production it was a 'recreation' for noblewomen, a refined activity of taste enjoyed by a few. The location of the activity is a distinction in practice as formulated by Pierre Bourdieu, distancing sweetmeat production from everyday food made by her waged cooks, and an act of appropriation of domestic production.[48]

Sweetmeats and cordials were commonly served in banqueting rooms. Lady Home had reception rooms and summer houses,two banqueting houses at Moray House were furnished with marble tables. Some closets contained plates and dishes and were sometimes called sweetmeat cabinets or closets The Countess of Leicester had a sweetmeat closet in 1635 and in 1637 there was one at Haddon Hall.[49]A closet in the parlour at Bramfield in 1629 contained stills, gallipots,china dishes, and bobbins and crewel wool for lace-making and embroidery.[50]Sweetmeat making activities in front stage rooms continued in Scotland, in 1694 a drawing room at Drumlanrig contained a 'confection stove' for drying sweetmeats.[51] Sweetmeats were also placed in bedrooms and children's rooms in a special piece of furniture called a sweetmeat cabinet, these could have special metal linings.[52]

Central to this activity was the personal participation of the women, and the possible exclusion of kitchen servants. This may relate to the production of remedies in the same

[44] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1202, Donibristle 1651.

[45] Markham, *Maison rustique, or The countrey farme*, v, 584-5.

[46] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5, fol.15r.

[47] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 13, fol. 23.

[48] P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 1-96.

[49]Halliwell, *Ancient Inventories*,11-12: *HMC Rutland*, ii, (1889), 344, my thanks to Louise Stewart for highlighting these closets.

[50]Steer, 'Inventory of Arthur Coke of Bramfield', 264-287.

[51] Drumlanrig Bundle 1335, I owe this reference to Charles Wemyss.

[52] NRAS 217 box 5 nos. 1, 5.

circumstance, where the 'personal touch' was an important component of the product. Servants were doubtless involved in the laborious tasks of bringing ingredients, fuel and water.

Lady Home kept and probably made rose water by distillation in her closet.Rose water distilled from rose leaves and coloured with petals. This was a product with a long and venerable history regarded with awe for its healing power. The contents of a closet at Edinburgh Castle in 1488 included silver, heirlooms, rose water and sacred vessels, and suggests some kind of mystical treasury.[53]The closet's role as a receptacle of spiritual valuables and medicinal elixirs like rose-water appears in the sixteenth-century Scottish Arthurian romance *Clariodus*, where a knight is transformed and re-baptised with the rose water found in a closet.[54]These are probably references to expensive imported rose waters from the Mediterranean. The closetwas an actual and metaphysical medicine cabinet, an idea of the closet as a repository of healing and renewal perpetuated into the seventeenth century.

Stills and alembics were used to extract and refine essences from garden produce for cordials for banquets and for medicines like rose-water.[55]A description of themaking of medicinal rose water in Langham's *Garden of Health* involves the use of glass stills rather than metal apparatus; 'for those that be distilled in mettall have some smatch of the mettall and are not so wholesom'. Langham lists a bewildering variety of remedies employing rose water.[56] Equipment necessary for medicine practitioners was listed by Thomas Brugis in *The Marrow of Phyick*, (London 1640), who including itemsfound in Lady Home's inventory and also the surgical tools which are not found. Brugis wrote that 'Nourishment is another part of preserving health, and as necessary as air'.[57] Lady Home's medicine was based on nourishment rather than surgery, the essential characteristic of physic.

[53] Thomson, *Collection of Inventories*, 8.

[54] D. Irving ed., *Clariodus* (Edinburgh 1830), 56, (book 2, l. 149): R. Purdie, '*Clariodus* and the Ambitions of Courtly Romance in Later Medieval Scotland', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*(2002) 38(4): 449-461.

[55] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 280: L. Orlin, *Locating Privacy*, 316-7.

[56] W. Langham, *Garden of Health*, (London 1597), 536.

[57] A. Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine 1550-1680* (Cambridge 2000), 54-5: T. Brugis, *The Marrow of Phyick* (London 1640), 61, 86-7.

Distilling for medicine cannot be distinguished from the food culture, as the same distilled liquors made as remedies were also used in sweetmeats. The presence of stills do not imply that a search for the *quinta essentia* was taking place, yet their use was not absolutely distinct from alchemy, which was also practised by women in the circle of Lady Home. Lady Home kept a portrait of Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland (1560-1616) who left a manuscript of alchemical recipes.Thiscompendium includes material by the Elizabethan alchemists John Dee and Edward Kelley.[58] Lady Home's enthusiasm for distillation may have have been influenced by the friendship of her mother and the countess. Recipes were taught by mother to daughter and exchanged between friends as a social activity.[59] These were collected in manuscript recipe books, and sometimes guaranteed by the name of an author.[60] Some were published in the mid-seventeenth century.[61]

One that ran to many editions was Hugh Plat's*Delightes for ladies to adorne their persons, tables, closets, and distillatories with beauties, banquets, perfumes and waters*, (1602). Plat's dedicatory verse mentions distilling in the closet, and his recipes include sweet waters, medicines, perfumes and cordials. Plat also included magic tricks like suspending candles with concealed wire. As in his earlier book of secrets, the *Jewell house of Art and Nature* (1594) this genre reflects an interest in 'scientific' recreation discussed below. Plat's works cater for the elite woman focussing on inventiveness, taste and luxury, while Gervase Markham's works tend to value economy and thrift.[62]Seventeenth-century recipe books were attributed to various figures including Henrietta Maria, Kenelm Digby and the Countess of Arundel, though their association with these court figures has been doubted.[63]

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[58] Acheson, ed., *The Memoir and Diary of Anne Clifford 1616-1619*, 176: P. Bayer, 'Lady Margaret Clifford's Alchemical Receipt Book and the John Dee Circle', *Ambix*, vol. 52, No. 3, November 2005, 271-284 .

[59]E. Leong and S. Pennell, "Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern 'Medical Marketplace,' " in *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies, c. 1450–c. 1850*, ed. M. Jenner and P. Wallis (New York 2007), 133–52: W. Wall 'Literacy and the Domestic Arts' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 73, No. 3 (September 2010), 383-412.

[60]Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain*, 104-116.

[61]L. Knoppers, 'Opening the Queen's Closet: Henrietta Maria, Elizabeth Cromwell, and the Politics of Cookery', *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Summer 2007), pp. 464-499: W. Wall, 'Literacy and the Domestic Arts', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 73, No. 3 (September 2010), pp. 383-412.

[62] Wall, *Staging Domesticity*, 26.

[63]L. Lunger Knoppers, 'Opening the Queen's Closet: Henrietta Maria, Elizabeth Cromwell, and the Politics of Cookery,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Summer 2007), pp. 464-499.

Lady Home's inventories do not mention the ingredients used and distilled in her glassware, so what she made and consumed cannot be known for certain. Some ingredients would have come from plants cultivated for physic in her gardens. She kept glasses for serving cinnamon water, a cordial that was a descendent of Hippocras. According to Gervase Markham, cinnamon water would comfort the vital spirits and all inward parts. His recipe required sack (Spanish fortified wine), rose-water (distilled from petals and leaves) and cinnamon (from Sri Lanka)to be distilled together in a glass still.[64] Hugh Plat gave a similar recipe.[65]Gervase Markham included this medicinal cinnamon water recipe in his chapter on distillation, and described another kind of cinnamon water under the heading 'skill in banqueting stuff'.[66]

Many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century recipe books referred to the closet in their titles, and this use of the word is understood as a metaphor for knowledge. John Partridge's 1573 work, *The Treasurie of Commodious Conceits, & Hidden Secrets, and may be called, the Huswives Closet, of Healthfull Provision*, included sweetmeats, tarts, marmalades, conserves, and medicinal recipes. The titles may be punning on the idea of a cabinet or closet as a place where writings (here recipes) are kept safe, secure and secret, and the ladies' cabinet where some of the activities took place. Apart from their titles, these books do not otherwise refer to the closet or indeed the kitchen as workspaces, the content being recipes only, so the knowledge that some recipes were followed in the closet has been lost, and can only be known from inventories.

A few otherScottish inventories include distillation equipment.A room at CaerlaverockCastle in 1640 containedequipment for making and serving distilled drinks or waters, with glasses, copper pots and ladles, and a mortar and pestle.[67] Medicines and cordials were prepared in a still house at theBog o'Gight in 1692. This was above the gallery within the high status part of the house rather than in the offices. As at Floors the room contained equipment suitable for

[64] F. Braudel, *The Perspective of the World* , 3, (Los Angeles 1984), 215, 699: H. J. Cook, *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (Yale 2007), 9.

[65] M. Best ed., *Gervase Markham The English Housewife*, (Montreal 1994), 126: H. Plat, *The iewell house of art and nature*, (London 1594), bk 3, 20-21.

[66] G. Markham, *The English House Wife* (London 1631), 127.

[67] Fraser, *Book ofCarlaverock*, vol.2, 503.

sweetmeats, physic and distillation, equipment for sweetmeat noted with a stilling glass.[68]In England the stillhouse was usually placed among household offices, close to the kitchen like that at Apethorpe in 1629 which was not furnished with delicate glassware, but with more robust copper and brass vessels.[69] These were for larger scale production than the delicate glass stills. According to Girouard the still-house had been close to the lady's bedchamber in medieval houses and later became the preserve of the housekeeper and an adjunct of the kitchen in the eighteenth century.[70] Perhaps two parallel traditions continued or there were revivals, the kitchen stillroomand the bedchamber closet still, according to circumstance and preference, and a fluctuating balance in domesticity.

7:3 Paintings as tokens of healing and nourishment

Some of Lady Home's paintings had themes of food and nourishment, healing and sustenance. Theyilluminate the context of her activities, demonstrating Lady Home's awareness, understanding, and commitment to her'recreative' activities, the production of knowledge and nourishment in the cabinet, and of the iconological potential of her pictures.Framing her activities as charity, the paintings reminded her family and guests how hospitable actions could be related to the stories of virtuous women.

Some of the pictures travelled with Lady Home between London and Scotland and were listed c. 1634 in a separate inventory titled 'pictures in my ladyes closet'. Another paper drawn up after her death listed objects and paintings which might have been found in either closet, or listed in either inventory, and includes paintings which at times hung in other rooms at Moray House and Donibristle. This was made to help divide the furnishings between her daughters.[71] The impression given is that Lady Home set up her closet, in its fullest expression with her paintings,in Edinburgh, in Aldersgate, and at Donibristle House, and not at Floors or Twickenham.

The pictures over the fireplace provided the dominant theme of the cabinet and gave an insight into Lady Home's self-image. An inventory of Donibristle House made c.1640 lists

[68] NRS GD44/49/13/1/3, Bog 1692.

[69] Northampton Record Office W (A) box 6, parcel V, nos. 1 & 2.

[70] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 280.

[71] NRAS 217 box 5 item 469, 'pictures in my lady's closet'; box 5 no. 467, 'A note of the closset in the Canongait'.

three pictures over Lady Home's cabinet fireplace:*Charity* flanked by *David and Abigail* and *Ester*.[72]A*Charity*in the gallery at Moray House was described as a 'pickter of ane chemnay peis of ane womane giffing suck to ane mane cost 50s.'[73] This, the *Roman Charity* of Cimon and Pero was a well-known exemplar of filial piety and Christian charity, occasionally grouped with more conventional virtues. Pero, a young woman gave suck to her father, who was being starved in prison.[74]Its source was a description of classical paintings by Valerius Maximus recognised as an example of *ekphrasis* noted by Francis Junius, and so fashionably learned as well as an apt signifier of a female activity.[75]The picture was perhaps a copy of one of Rubens' recent treatments of the subject (Fig. 7:1). In every way this image points to the more uncanny expression of nourishment and domesticity, and speaks of Lady Home's commitment to the survival of her family and the preoccupation with physic and nurture.

Fig. 7:1 Rubens, *Caritas Romana*, (Rijksmuseum)

[72] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1, fo.11r, 'a pictor of scharitie Item the pictor of david and Abigail on the one syd of it and on the other side the pictor of queen ester'.

[73] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5, fol. 31r (Green balcony room), fol.22r (Vault).

[74] R. Trubowitz, *Nature and Nature in Seventeenth Century English Literature* (Oxford, 2012), 39-41.

[75] F. Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, (London 1637), 57.

These were moral allegories of the actions of exceptional women, enacting virtues that women should emulate. The meeting of *David and Abigail* was frequently depicted in print and painting, and this picture could have been a copy following a recent composition by Rubens (Fig. 7:2). Abigail's story of virtue is also a story about food. She brought provisions to David as recompense for her husband's offence. Impressed by her generosity, he later married her. Abigail was virtuous both in helping to redeem her first husband Nabal's good name and as a provider of food to David. Abigail's power resides in her control over the food that decided her and her husband's fate.

The detail of the food links these closet pictures together. Food was recognised as a central element of Abigail's story in contemporary sermons. She was contested as an example of a virtuous woman, and the story was discussed in the context of a wife's liberty to dispose of the food as her husband's goods. William Gouge, a preacher personally known to Lady Home and her mother, discounted Abigail's story as a relevant example in this debate.She was an 'extraordinary woman' and not 'imitable'.[76]

Fig. 7:2, Rubens (workshop), *David & Abigail*, (Getty Museum)

The painting of*Esther*continued the motif of virtue and sustenance. The story of Esther's defence of her people includes two banquets. The painting may have shown the banquet she

[76] W. Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (London, 1622), 302-3, 327, 633: 1 Samuel 28, 18.

made for Ahasuerus and Haman.[77]Thirst and satiation wererepresented by*Christ and Samaritan Woman*, depicting a meeting at a well. Christ's companions have gone to fetch food, and he asked the Samaritan to draw him some water, then offered her the 'living water' that permanently quenches thirst. Then he refuses the food his companions bring.[78] Alternative sustenance comes from the Spirit and the church. Amongst Lady Home's books, Thomas Playfere exhorted her to carry away her pitcher of living water from the well, not to drink from, but to wash and cleanse.[79]

Another picture showed the encounter of Jesus and Mary and Martha.[80] This was usually set in a busy kitchen and included Martha working in food-preparation, perhaps with a prominent pestle and mortar. Mary, who chose to engage in a discussion with Jesus rather than prepare food, could represented the contemplative life, thus wisdom - *sapientia*, and her sister Martha the active life, and practical knowledge – *scientia*.[81]*Mary and Martha,* as a representation of branches of knowledge enacted by women was a suitable pendant to the *Charity*. A Catholic interpretation saw in Martha a representation of justification by works. Aninterpretation of the story as a representation of two sorts of lives and approaches to wisdom was adopted by Loyola. Calvin, provided an alternate view, seeing Martha's inattention to Jesus as a temporary oversight, and her industry commendable.[82] Lady Home may have appeared industrious, like Martha, particularly since pestles and mortars were found in so many of her rooms.

Together these paintings allude to a Pauline maxim relating knowledge and charity. In a passage devoted to food offerings Paul contrasted knowledge with charity, 'Now as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth'(1 Corinthians 8:1).Lady Home's activities involved practical and contemplative knowledge, directed or guided by charitable instinct.This reading of the paintings and their thematic connection with foodstuffs is supported by the list of her books.

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[77] J. Carruthers, *Esther through the Ages* (Oxford, 2008), 232-5.

[78] John 4:1-42.

[79] Thomas Playfere, *The whole sermons of that eloquent diuine, of famous memory* (London 1623),191-2.

[80]Luke 10:38-42.

[81] P. Harrison, "The natural philosopher and the virtues", in *The Philosopher in Early Modern Europe*. ed. S. Gaukroger and I. Hunter (Cambridge 2006), pp. 202-228, 204-5.

[82] F. T. Gench, *Back to the Well: Women's Encounters with Jesus in the Gospels* (Louisville 2004), 73-5.

Her reading of sermons would remind her of these associations. Injust one of the works in her cabinet library, Edward Reynolds wrote of the grief of David making him forget his bread, Christ's zeal to convert the woman of Samaria making him forget his thirst, the hunger and fasting of Paul's enemies, and how Christ provides cordials for the weak and physic to cure disease.[83]

Another picture extended the theme from food to medicine. This was the *Landscape withTobias*, a subject with well-known reference to healing arts. The angel Raphael was regarded as a protector of travellers and a healer. Raphael gave Tobias instructions for the medicinal use of a fish. The organs of the fish were burnt to ward off a demon and to heal Tobit's blindness (Tobit 6:8).*Tobias* was the only religious picture in the 'Dutch pranketing room' of the Countess of Arundel in 1641, a banqueting house at Tart Hall. This picture has also been interpreted as emblematic of healing alluding to the practice of physic by the Countess.[84] The Countess of Arundel was the attributed author of a book of medicinal recipes, the *Natura Exenterata,* published in 1655, with a preface commending practical knowledge before discourse.[85] Other pictures in the Tart Hall pranketing room depicted food themes as still lives. Lady Home had some genre paintings, like the *Mice and Cheese*, *Rabbits*, and *Hen and Birds*, which in the1640s were hung with the *Tobias* in the larger dining room at Donibristle. The Donibristle *Tobias* may have previously served in the closets where its association with medicinal healing would be more readily apparent.

[83] E. Reynolds, *An explication of the hundreth and tenth Psalme* (London 1632), 230-1, 329-30.

[84] J. Claxton, 'The Countess of Arundel's Dutch Pranketing Room', *Journal of the History of Collections*, (2010) 22 (2): 187-196, 192.

[85]M. DiMeo, 'Howard, Aletheia , countess of Arundel, of Surrey, and of Norfolk, and suo jure Baroness Furnivall, Baroness Talbot, and Baroness Strange of Blackmere (*d.* 1654)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oct 2006; online edn., Jan 2008.[http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/94252, accessed 24 June 2014]

Fig. 7:3, *Tobias and the Angel,* Wencelaus Hollar after Adam Elsheimer, (British Museum)

These paintings illustrated virtues associated with activities which elite women in Lady Home's circle appropriated to themselves from other forms of domestic production. These pursuits fitted an established tradition of iconography and exegesis of themes of nourishment. This choreography of image and activity by Lady Home (and the Countess of Arundel) was straightforward, but it is hard not to relate the performance and symbolism of these nourishing activities with the Last Supper and the celebration of the Eucharist, and this association must have occurred to contemporaries, thoughts which would occur equally to those of Reformed or Catholic religion.

7:4 Science in the closet:mathematical instruments and recreations

Boundaries between the activities of making refined food or medicine, and alchemy and other sciences and practices are artificially drawn, and artefacts found in inventories may resist facile classification.[86] Lady Home had'scientific' objects in her cabinets which were not directly connected with medicine, alchemy or food making, and could be described as curiosities and scientific instruments. These included; loadstones, telescopes, a crystal ball,

[86]S. Feinstein, "La Chymie" for Women: Engaging Chemistry's Bodies'*Early Modern Women*, vol. 4 (Fall 2009), pp. 223-234, p.228.

burning and multiplying glasses, a weatherglass, and a silver horological ring dial.[87]These objects were curiosities for collectors: Henry Wotton bequeathed his loadstones and pieces of amber and crystal to the Earl of Holland for his cabinet.[88] Wotton and Holland have been mentioned above in connection with Italianate chairs. Perhaps for Lady Home these objects can be seen as part of a leisure activity, as evidence of a meditative recreation. Women have rarely been noted as collectors of scientific objects in the first decades of the seventeenth century. These luxurious objects can be regarded as an expression of the same interest in physic and nourishment, as tokens of knowledge. Here, this small collection of curiosities may have been subordinate to the preoccupation with physic.[89]

Like art collecting, scientific activities came with a significant price tag which served to make them popular amongst elites. The later seventeenth-century writer on conduct and education, Obadiah Walker noted that 'Ingenious studies' were such as 'poorer persons were not able to support'.[90] Scientific interests were exclusive, and complimentary to the exhibition of new courtly tastes in furnishings, and such exclusivity was a common feature of aristocratic pastimes.

This valuable apparatus was kept in luxurious closets. There is overlap between the contents of the closets at Donibristle, Moray House, and in London, and these objects were probably used by three generations of women in the same period, Mary, Countess of Home (d.1644), her mother Theodosia Harington (d.1649), and her daughters Margaret, Lady Moray and Anne, Lady Maitland.Theodosia latterly lived in Norwich, but had a bedchamber at Twickenham Park in 1638.[91]Lady Moray continued to keep valuable items in her closet:in 1667 some of the cabinet contents at Donibristle were stolen by her son Alexander.[92]

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[87] NRAS 217 box 5 no.1, fol.11, Donibristle, 'Ane not of thinges in my ladyis little grein cabinett'; box 5 no.5, fol.17, Moray House, 'A note of the thingis in my Ladyis cabinet'.

[88] L. Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, vol.1 (London 1907), 218.

[89] S. Parageau, 'Auto Didacticism and the Construction of Scientific Discourse in Ealy Modern England', in D. S. Andréolle & V. Molina ed., *Women and Science, 17th Century to Present: Pioneers, Activists and Protagonists* (Newcastle 2011), 5.

[90] O. Walker, *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen* (Oxford, 1673).

[91] NRAS 217 box 5 no.13, fol. 17, 'In my lords chalmer ... Item in anno 1638 ... fittit in this rowme in Trytnighame whair my lady dudlie lyis'.

[92]*Letters from the Earl of Argyll to the Duke of Lauderdale* (Edinburgh, 1829), 44-5.

The silver horological ring dial was a portable sundial adjustable to tell the time at various locations, the latest type was associated with the patronage of the Earl and Countess of Arundel.[93]There were two telescopes – 'prospick glasses' – onebought in London in 1634 for £15 was covered with gilt leather and hadivory lens covers.[94]'Prospective' and 'perspective glasses' were interchangeable terms for the new technology – formerly 'prospective' had described a variety of glasses that provided visions. Available as early as 1610, in 1623 Buckingham's wife had sent one in jest to Madrid so that the Prince could see the Infanta, since he was kept so far from her.[95]Charles I had a long prospective glass 'to see far of[f]' in his cabinet in 1639.[96]Lady Home's burning glass had cost 15 shillings. It collected the sun rays and concentrated them to cause combustion, illustrating the story of Archimedes' glass used at Syracuse to destroy ships.[97] In 1638 Lady Home bequeathed a large silver multiplying glass, which worked like a kaleidoscope, to her nephew, the Duke of Schomberg.[98]

Her crystal ball couldact like a burning glass or in other optical demonstrations, but may also have created an atmosphere of esoteric study, as a link to the world of John Dee and his crystal 'showstones' which he used to communicate with angels. As Theodosia Harington's friend Margaret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland, had contact with Dee this is not implausible. The ball was held up to sunlight and a 'scryer' described visions seen in the ball.[99] Other and much older crystal balls in Scotland were family heirlooms with a tradition

[93]H. Higton, *Sundials. An Illustrated History of Portable Dials*, (London 2001), 78-84; 'Dating Oughtred's design for the equinoctial ring dial', *Bulletin of the Scientific Instrument Society* No 44 (1995), 25.

[94] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 6, fol.4; box 5 no.1, fol.11, Donibristle, 'Ane not of thinges in my ladyis little grein cabinett'.

[95] Goodman, *Court of King James the First*, vol. 2, 278: E. Reeves, 'Complete Inventions: The Mirror and the Telescope' in A. van Helden, S. Dupré, R. van Gented., *The Origins of the Telescope* (Amsterdam 2010), 167-182.

[96] Millar, 'Abraham Van Der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I', 147.

[97] J. P. Zetterberg, 'The Mistaking of "the Mathematicks" for Magic in Tudor and Stuart England' *Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 11, no. 1 (Spring, 1980), pp. 83-97, 89-90.

[98] TNA Prob/11/272/611 fol. 403-6: NRAS 217 box 5 no. 292.

[99]D. Harkness, 'Shows in the Showstone: A Theater of Alchemy and Apocalypse in the Angel Conversations of John Dee' (1527-1608/9)'*Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 4 (Winter, 1996), pp. 707-737: D. Harkness, 'Managing an Experimental Household: The Dees of Mortlake and the Practice of Natural Philosophy', *Isis*, vol. 88, No. 2 (Jun., 1997), pp. 247-262, 254.

of healing power, for people and animals.[100] However none of the accompanying objects appears to be old.

The weather glass was a sealed tube with an indicator liquid – the water level rose and fell or became turbulent with changes in air pressure and temperature. If regularly observed it gave some help in predicting the weather.[101] Seven types of weather glass were described by John Bate in his *Mysteries of Nature*, (1634).[102] An advertisement shows that weather glasses could be purchased in London in 1631.[103] Lady Home's was aluxury version, gilded and presented in a painted wooden case. The inventory notes that it 'tells the weddir' and that it was given to a 'Lady Hamilton', evidence that a group of women shared an interest in these instruments.[104]Lady Home's gilt weather-glass was doubtless costly, an inexpensive version bought by Sir Hamon Le Strange in 1621 cost only 1s-6d. Between 1607 and 1629Strange bought a quadrant, compasses, and scientific books.Instruments for measurement, drawing and geometry were not found in Lady Home's collection, suggesting that the focus of their interests differed.[105]

In 1730 Edward Saul described a new generation of barometer as a 'philosophical or ornamental branch of furniture'. Saul explained that the glasses gave an 'air of philosophy' to houses. and owners with recourse to his handbook might talk intelligibly about them.[106] He expected that owners would have bought barometersbefore understanding much about how they functioned or were used. It is likely that the purchase of scientific objects and acquisition of knowledge in the 1630s would proceed in the same order. After mastering their demonstration, it is doubtful how far Lady Home, her family and friends might go in recreating or following the ideas of natural philosophers like Robert Fludd who frequently used the weather glass and loadstone in support of his complicated philosophies.

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[100]G. Black, 'Scottish Charms and Amulets*,' PSAS*,vol.27 (1892-93),433-526.

[101]A. Borrelli, 'The Weather Glass and its Observers' in C. Zittel ed., *Philosophies of Technology: Francis Bacon and Contemporaries* (Brill 2008), 67-130.

[102]J. Bate, *The mysteries of nature and art*, (London 1634), no. 17.

[103] Anon, *A table plainly teaching ye making and use of a Wetherglas* (London 1631) (23636 STC 2nd ed.).

[104] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5 Moray House.

[105]Whittle & Griffiths, *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household*, 20, 46-8, 197, 201.

[106] E. Saul, *An Historical and Philosophical Account of the Barometer* (London, 1730), 1-2.

Nevertheless, an idea underlying Fludd's work, that magnets and loadstones expressed dichotomies between cosmic north and south and the warm and cold humours, would be attractive to those interested in physic and humoral medicine.[107]

These objectswere bought in Londonby women for their own use. Scientific objects are rarely found in any household inventories, possibly because few people owned them, or perhaps because they fall between recognised categories of household goods. These inventories are unique in representing a collection formed by women in this decade, but suggest that such collections were not uncommon. Other collections of instruments (made by men) were more geometric in character, including quadrants, sectors and circumferences, thesemostly optical devices represent a different kind of interest.[108]As early as 1609 Ben Jonson associated them with shopping, luxury and spectacle.[109] Similar itemswere cried out by the shop boy in his *Entertainment for Britain's Burse*, in a group of optical delights amongst more regular luxuries (with the exception of falchions and beards?) that appealed to women.[110]The plot of the*Entertainment* revolves around a prospective glass, the newly-invented telescope that wasperhaps not yet available in London.[111] Other luxuries (or 'vulgarities') listed by the shop boy were available and the inclusion of the glasses may normalise them as ordinary luxuries, even the crystal ball with its esoteric associations. It seems likely that these optical novelties appealed to and were collected by women.

Although the Countess of Home might not have been a natural philosopher these novelties were not empty of meaning. The inventories note the purchase of a painting from the New Exchange, where perhaps many of the luxuries listed were bought, where the shopping experience itself had become a novel social activity.[112] The objects were luxurious, with ivory and silver, gilded and painted, their ostentation shows that these items were collected

[107]Borrelli, 'Weather Glass', 124.

[108] Steer, 'Inventory of Arthur Coke of Bramfield', 264-287.

[109] Reeves, 'Complete Inventions: The Mirror and the Telescope', 179-82.

[110]Knowles, 'Jonson's Entertainment at Britain's Burse', 114–52.

[111] J. Speake, 'The Wrong Kind of Wonder: Ben Jonson & Cornelis Drebbel', *Review of English Studies* (2015) 66 (273): 60-70.

[112]C. Walsh, 'Social meaning and social space in the shopping galleries of early modern London', in J. Benson and L. Ugolini (eds.), *A Nation of Shopkeepers: Five Centuries of British Retailing* (London, 2003), 52–79: Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 42–71, 112-3; D. Davis, *A History of Shopping* (London, 1966), 122–6.

and used and demonstrated in a social context with members of a closet circle. Guests and friends to whom these were shown were invited to appreciate her knowledge and skill and be encouraged to develop their own interests.

As amateurs,dilettantes or virtuosi of science, Lady Home may have been inspired or encouraged by contact with aristocrats who directly patronised new sciences. As the correspondence of Lady Home does not survive (for unknown reasons she ordered the burning of her own papers) it is difficult to work out who comprised her social circle, and the nature of her cultural links. The inventory notes that the weather glass was given to a Lady Hamilton, perhaps the dowager Marchioness of Hamilton, Ann Cunningham (d.1646). This gift adds to the impression that these glasses were used and discussed by a circle of women – 'cabinet friends.' Identifying other possible members of this circle is however hampered by the meagre archival traces of their social life.

The objects were central to the seventeenth-century scientific revolution, which was in part driven by investment in sea-commerce. This had brought a new professionalism to navigation, with mathematicians finding patronage by promising elaborate refinements and new efficiencies. Mathematicians had come to dominate navigation with new instruments for making astronomical measurements, innovations which displaced traditional skills, which they taught to sailors. Some aristocrats pursued a semi-private interest in science, patronising academics and experimenters.[113] The circles of aristocratic patronage and the world of mathematical navigation were intimately connected by the employment of the same experts and intellectual priorities.[114] There is no other evidence for the involvement of Lady Home, or the women of the Harington and Moray families in the scientific world, but like most aristocrats they had family connections to this apparently male world.

One family member connected with the worlds of the academic mathematician and practical navigation was Sir Francis Stewart (d.1635), MP and sailor,the uncle of James 4th Earl of Moray who married Margaret Home in 1627. Aubrey mentioned that Stewart conversed with

[113] E. Ash, *Power Knowledge and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore,2004): P. Harrison, 'The natural philosopher and the virtues', 220: C. Hill, 'London Science and Medicine' in *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution - Revisited*. (Oxford, 1997).

[114] H. Jones, 'The Cavendish Circle' *Seventeenth Century*, 9 (1994), 141-287: T. Raylor, 'Newcastle ghosts' in C. Summers, ed., *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England*, (Missouri, 2010), 94.

the mathematician Thomas Hariot (d.1621) about comets.[115] He had been a student at Christchurch at the same time as Robert Burton (who owned navigational instruments) and the mathematician Edmund Gunter.[116]Gunter's designs for the quadrant and sector were made up by the instrument maker Elias Allen (c.1588-1653). Allen made silver ring dials like the one described in the Donibristle inventory.[117] Hester Higton notes that surviving silver Allen dials show little signs of wear and were probably made for collectors rather than use byexplorers. She identified an Allen dial in a portrait of the Earl and Countess of Arundel. Van Dyck's*Madagascar Portrait* of 1639 was intended to raise support and investment for a new colony on the island.[118] With the evidence of the dial in the Donibristle inventory, theknown market for Allen's instruments can be extended to aristocratic women. Francis Stewart may have encouraged his neice and her family's interest in these scientific objects.

Charles I kept a telescope and loadstones with compass needles in his cabinet.[119]Yet the other objects in Lady Home's cabinet had little connection with measurement and navigation. Although apparently esoteric, theywere described in publications of the 1630s which appeal in plain terms to non-specialist readers. These handbooks are practical in tone with the aim of enabling owners to confidently entertain guests with both homemadeand luxurious apparatus. One suchhandbook was the *Mathematicall Recreations* (1633) translated from a French work, Henry van Etten's *Récréations Mathématiques* (1624). It consists of puzzles and exercisesbased on arithmetic and geometry and also includesactivities with apparatus like loadstones and glasses. A second edition included William Oughtred's instructions for the equinoctial ring dial. The main matter of the *Recreations*was presented as entertainment.

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[115]M. Butler, 'Stewart, Sir Francis (1588/9–1634/5)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70624, accessed 16 June 2014]: Butler, 'Sir Francis Stewart: Jonson's Overlooked Patron', 101-27:J. J. Roche, 'Harriot, Thomas (*c.*1560–1621)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12379, accessed 16 June 2014].

[116]H. K. Higton, 'Gunter, Edmund (1581–1626)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11751, accessed 24 June 2014].

[117]H. Higton, 'Portrait of an Instrument-Maker: Wenceslaus Hollar's Engraving of Elias Allen' *The British Journal for the History of Science*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (June 2004), pp. 147-166.

[118] H. Higton, 'Elias Allen and the role of instruments in shaping the mathematical culture of seventeenth-century England' unpublished Cambridge PhD, (1996), chapt. 1.

[119] O. Millar, 'Abraham Van Der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I', 146.

'Speculative' demonstrations were omitted and activities were presented as parlour tricks.[120] Practitioners were encouraged to conceal their methods 'as much as they may', to increase the pleasure and drama, and not to trouble themselves over reasons or mathematical principle, and not fail 'in the acting of it'.[121]

Apparatus and demonstrationwere placed in the social context ofperformance. The performer should be practiced in concealment and acting. The objects were to be performed, to 'shew to strangers' as Robert Burton had described the products of women's handiwork. However, this performance, possession, and knowledge should not be dismissed. While these objects were used to entertain, the underlying theme was to project the superior skill, knowledge and dexterity of the demonstrator and to stir up the 'search for further knowledge'. The performance of experimental expertise would contribute to self-image and reputation, especially if she was able to relate the powers of the magnet or glasses to the four humours of Galenic medicine.

The historiography of science has been concerned with natural philosophers who sought to distance themselves from this kind of entertainment, and so the evidence ofthe *Mathematicall Recreations* and similar works have been rejected by historians who doubtthat many people performed their conjuring tricks in the first decades of the seventeenth century.[122]However, many people who followed a fashion for owning instruments like Lady Home may have used these handbooks, knowing that showing dexterity and expertise with loadstones, dials and glasses, would enhance their reputations for wisdom and contribute to their and their family's and friends' knowledge. Such works don't feature in the list of Lady Home's books, but performance knowledge may have circulated by personal instruction amongst friends.

The *Mathematicall Recreations* has a complex history. It has been discussed as a Jesuit work, the entertainments designed to inspire faith through wonder, precisely because there was no description of causes.[123]Whatever its origin, its genre was that of a recipe book for luxurious leisure, a book of secrets.This virtuoso culture might presage more serious scientific applications, as William Eamon describes, as an amateur enthusiasm for scientific novelties,

[120] Zetterberg, 'The Mistaking of "the Mathematicks" for Magic in Tudor and Stuart England', 94, 96.

[121]*Mathematicall Recreations*, (London, 1633), preface.

[122] Zetterberg, 'The Mistaking of "the Mathematicks" for Magic in Tudor and Stuart England', 88-9.

[123]Borrelli, 'Weather Glass', 67-130.

adopted as a pastime in enforced leisure, which promoted and fostered the development of empirical science. He takes the *Recreations* and John Bate's *Mysteries of Nature* at face value, a more convincing position on the books than previous historians of science.[124]Perhaps then, until further evidence comes to light, we could assume that Lady Home and her family and friends were participants and consumers in a leisure pursuit which bolstered their preoccupation with distillation and physic as a learned pursuit.

7:5 Conclusion

The inventories of Mary Dudley, Countess of Home reveal her interest in the production of remedies for physic.Production and consumption took place away from the kitchen and dining room in closets, drawing chambers and banqueting rooms. Other early modern households in England located this activity in still-rooms associated with the kitchen, but Lady Home's version of this activity may not have been exceptional. These activities were appropriated from other domestic production, abstracted as suitable occupations because of the high level of skills, knowledge and expense of materials. At least some of her paintings alluded to themes of healing and nourishment.

Equipment for physic can be allied to scientific curiosities found in her closet, objects which might be performed to others. Demonstrating knowledge was important and Lady Home bought scientific instruments for this purpose.The letters from Mary Countess of Westmorland to her daughter Grace Lady Home show a tension between their knowledge and ownership of medical matters and intervention by outsiders including midwives and doctors. Records of female ownership of scientific apparatus in the 1630s are scarce, but again this may not have been exceptional.

Scientific instruments, which were themselves luxurious objects, could interest and fascinate non-specialists, who may have acquired them for activities paralleling professional or philosophic use. Books like the *Mathematicall Recreations*encouraged amateur followers of this fashion. These followerscould only have been the very wealthy. Without other evidence of the scientific pursuits of these women, characterising their activity can only be tentative but it is probable that that they used their objects as the author of the *Mathematicall Recreations*described:

[124] W. Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature* (Princeton 1996), 302-310, 307-8.

> Fit for scholars, students and gentlemen that desire to know the philosophical cause, but useful for others, to acuate and stir them up to the search for further knowledge and serviceable to all for many excellent things both for pleasure and recreation.

Lady Home's circle and wealthy women in general can be identified with the 'others' of the*Recreations*, people who could find pleasure and recreation in these finely crafted luxury novelties. This suggests a vicarious or passive participation in an emerging scientific revolution, as distant followers engaged in unconnected acts of *homage* to natural philosophy. Those introduced to optics or magnetism by exercises in the *Recreations* could have been drawn into 'seeking the reason'. And what mother or grandmother would not want to acuate and stir up a thirst for knowledge. Virtuosi were aware of a distinction between seeking causal explanations and acquiring descriptive knowledge of the phenomena, and did not denigrate the latter activity. Knowledge by acquaintance was not undervalued. The Moray inventories are significant evidence that apparatus was available in the 1630s, and that a fashion for scientific enquiry extended from the circles of professional scientists employed by a small number of aristocratic patrons to the leisure pursuits of aristocratic women in Scotland and in England.

Chapter 8 The Countess of Home's couches

8:1 Introduction

Nearly all reception rooms in MaryCountess of Home's houses had couches in the 1630s. These were upholstered seats or day-beds rather than beds for sleeping at night. Some had canopies and curtains, and all were placed on carpets, 'turkey rugs'. These couches were the principal seat in each room and were perhaps reserved for the Countess' personal use. Here it is argued that they were understood as seats of estate for women, and the proper equipment of a lady's drawing chamber. While the word 'couch' was applied to any kind of bed, this chapter discusses a class of couches designed for women, especially appropriate to the household of a widow and her daughters, a gendered piece of furniture, particularly suited to express the social power of the wealthy aristocratic widow.

The couch has been associated with Henrietta Maria and regarded as a French piece imported for a French mode of reception, receiving guests while lying in a day bed (Fig. 8:1).[1]However couches were used in previous decades. There was a couch with a plumed canopy in the North gallery of Oatlands in 1618.[2]When Elizabeth Spencer Lady Compton daughter of the Mayor of London inherited a fortune in 1610 she wrote to her husband asking him to increase her allowance and upgrade her lodgings. In future, she wanted a drawing room of her own with couch and canopy in all her houses.[3] She came to have a Scottish connection by the marriages made by Buckingham's kinswomen: in 1621 her eldest son married Mary Beaumont, a cousin of the favourite, and sister of Elizabeth, Countess of Nithsdale. By this time couches were already in demand in Scotland, a letter of 1614 requests prices for 'resting chairs' in London.[4]The Countess of Leicester had a couch in her drawing chamber in 1634 and it seems likely that more examples of couches used exclusively by women could be found.[5]The inventories of Lady Home,some dating to 1624,confirm that aristocrats aspired to have a drawing room with a couch before the marriage of Charles I.

[1] Millar, 'Inventories and Valuations', 288.

[2] Rowell, 'A set of Early Seventeenth-Century Crimson Velvet Seat Furniture at Knole', 33.

[3] Goodman, *Court of King James the First*, vol. 2, 13.

[4] Fraser, ed., *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, vol. 1, 194.

[5]Halliwell, *Ancient Inventories*, 13.

Literary evidence reveals ambiguous attitudes to the women's couch;comedies associate the couch with sexual license while other themes invest the couch with a kind of borrowed virtue.Furnishings play a part in effecting distance and estate, and the equipment of the drawing room has the same agency and similar roles to that of a feudal hall. Reserve and distance was achieved by withdrawal into spaces with restricted access, small closet-like spaces furnished with couches. It is likely that many who visited Lady Home's new and opulent townhouse, those who were unfamiliar with new aristocratic fashions, may have made the same judgement as Gordon of Ruthven, that this was 'English estate' and antipathetic to the 'Genius of the Scottish nation'.[6]

Fig. 8:1, The 'Knole sofa', an English couch c.1630 possibly made by Ralph Grynder for Henrietta Maria, (National Trust)

8:2 Couches and reception rooms: cabinet and gallery, withdrawing and 'estate'

Lady Home recordedfifteen different couches in five houses between 1624 and 1644. Eight reception rooms were furnished with couches in Moray House. These couches were upholstered in expensive heavy furnishing silk or velvets. One was upholstered in blue gilt leather that had been used to hang the gallery at Floors and Twickenham. Others were part of

[6] D. Stevenson, ;The English Devil of Keeping State, Elite Manners and the Downfall of Charles I', in *Variorum*: *Union, Revolution & Religion in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*, (Aldershot 1997).

suites of chairs and stools. Only two of these couches (used in bedchamber or closet) had extra linen covers for sleeping. Some couches were placed in small closet-like rooms where they were used for retiring and withdrawal. Other couches were positioned as the most conspicuous seats in more public rooms where they must have bolstered the estate of the Countess.

Association with sickness mayhave conferred a special dignity on the users of couches. Did the estate of women include a component of infirmity?Thornton associated the Italian wooden *lettucio* of the late fifteenth century with illness and the 'ars moriendi', pieces which were prized for their carving, and while the splendour of the later British equivalents depended on fabric and matching paintwork on exposed timber, he suggests the Italian examples were their prototypes. Awalnut couchmade in 1602 for the cabinet of the Duchess of Bar at Nancy was said to be made in the Italian fashion, but its form with four posts, panelling, and drawers beneath is unlike the upholstered couch.[7] Later seventeenth-century French inventories show a proliferation of couches throughout the apartment in every room.[8]

Seventeenth-century French writers like Jean Dumont debated the possible Italian or Roman origins of the couch.In Venice he saw*lits de repos et de rafraîchissement*placed under fans which he identified as descendants of a couch mentioned in the *Alexiad* of Anna Comnena. There is an urge to explain the couch in terms of the antique: Dumont continues that the chastity belt was not an invention of Italian jealousy but described by Pliny. The surprising conjunction suggests that the couch was a gendered piece of furniture, and perhaps a piece of furniture that attracted explanations and mythology.[9]

Couches furnished other Scottish houses in this period; at Glamis in 1648 there was a couch bed of carpet work in the family dining room called the 'tyllit hall', another in Lady Glamis' bedchamber covered with green damask was 'callit ane coatche bed', onein the drawing chamber at Caerlaverock Castle, and another at Newark Castle. The gallery at Aberdour Castle had a 'resting bed' or 'resting chair' in 1647.[10] These houses belonged to aristocrats

[7] E. Bonnaffé, *Le Meuble en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris 1887), 77, 212: H. Lepage, *Le Palais Ducal de Nancy* (Nancy, 1852), 78.

[8] Thornton, *Italian Renaissance Interior*, 148-51; *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 172.

[9] J. Dumont, *Voyage de Mr. du Mont*, iv, (Hague 1694), 275-7.

[10] Glamis Mss. P639/90: NRS GD224/906/93, Newark: NRS GD150/2843/1, 2, Aberdour Castle.

who often travelled to London and were aware of court fashions; John Lyon, 2nd Earl of Kinghorne, Robert Maxwell, 1st Earl of Nithsdale, William Scott, 1st Earl of Buccleuch and William Douglas, 7th Earl of Morton. Nithsdale's lodging at Caerlaverock(Fig. 8:2) and its drawing chamber and Morton's gallery were built in the mid-1630s, and were contemporaries of Moray House (Fig. 8:3). Nithsdale's wife Elizabeth Beaumont was a cousin of the Duke of Buckingham.[11]Buckingham was certainly a fashion leader in furnishing, and records of thisfurniture have been described by Simon Jervis. At York House the withdrawing chamber by the King's bedchamber was furnished with an elaborate couch and pavilion canopy.[12] Architectural detail at Aberdour, Caerlaverock or Moray House does not seem to follow court exampleclosely but builds on Scottish precedents, while new interior furnishing was not very different to that in England.

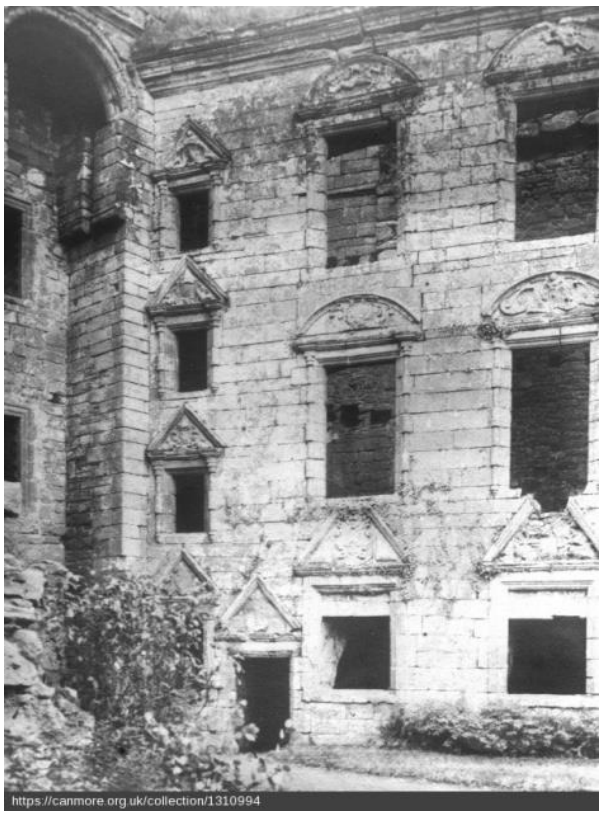

Fig. 8:2 Caerlaverock Castle, Nithsdale Lodging, dated 1634 (RCAHMS)

[11]J. R. M. Sizer, 'Maxwell, Robert, first earl of Nithsdale (*b.* after 1586, *d.* 1646)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67520, accessed 2 Nov 2015].

[12] Jervis, 'Furniture for the Duke of Buckingham', 48-74, 60.

Fig. 8:3 Moray House, windows of garden balcony room in gable (RCAHMS)

Possibly there were other drawing chambers and couches in Scotland in the first decades of the seventeenth century – but it is likely that only a small number of aristocrats adopted the range of court fashions seen in Lady Home's inventories. Lady Home had an excessive number of couches. Three factors determined the number of couches; firstly the couch had become suited to reflecting the authority and status of women; secondly the Canongate house had a large number of reception rooms reflecting modes of urban visiting; thirdly,Lady Home was particularly conscious of London fashions.

Tentative evidence for earlier popularity of couches diffusing from court comes from a letter written to Ann Livingston, Countess of Eglinton in 1614, with news on purchases including lace like Anne of Denmark's, and a 'resting-chair', which may have been a couch. The variety of terms for couches in Lady Home's inventories allows this interpretation. The Countess of Eglinton was seeking a replica of a resting-chair belonging to Jean Drummond, Countess of Roxburgh. These women would have been acquaintances of Lady Home and she would be involved in similar dialogues and exchanges. The Countess of Eglinton had been an attendant on Princess Elizabeth in the Harington household with Lady Home's sister Anne and her cousin Elizabeth Dudley, and was in the queen's service as a lady of the

bedchamber.[13] Home's cousin, Lucy Countess of Bedford and the queen were godmothers to Lady Roxburgh's daughter in 1616 and Lady Roxburgh was chief lady of the queen's privy chamber.[14] The dowager Countess of Home used Floors Castle, a house belonging to the Roxburghs as her country house for over two decades. In 1630 a letter to Grace, Countess of Home describes Lady Roxburgh as her friend, and'good neighbour'.[15]

Lavish couches appear in English women's inventories: Viscountess Dorchester had a gilt couch bed with purple velvet upholstery and six chairs valued at £66-13-8d, and the canopy and curtains of another couch valued at £13.[16]Aletheia Talbot, Countess of Arundel had a couch bed of silver frieze with a canopy in the gallery at Tart Hall with twenty matching chairs, and two Indian couches, one in her 'Dutch pranketing room', and another in her withdrawing room with a canopy with six matching chairs.[17] There was a couch covered with Scotch plaid in the little dining parlour at Tart Hall.[18]These couches were undoubtedly for the countess' use, Lady Arundel's enthusiasm for the couch paralleled Lady Home's, and this might seem an Italianized taste except for the earlier enthusiasm expressed by Lady Compton.

Henrietta Maria owned a number of couches which must have increased their popularity. These included a couch painted silver by Philip Bromefield in 1632. Ralph Grynder, an upholsterer, supplied couch chairs and beds to Queen's cabinet at Oatlands in 1635 and Somerset House in 1637. A sofa at Knole has been identified with these (Fig. 8:1).[19] A number of couches were recorded in the Commonwealth sale inventories, most of which can

[13] Fraser, *Memorials of the Montgomeries*, vol.1, 189, 194 255: vol. 2, 245-251.

[14] Payne, 'Aristocratic Women at the Jacobean Court', 57.

[15] NRAS 217 box 5 Floors inventories, no. 9, 13: NRAS 217 box 5, nos. 294, 295, 296, 302, letters to Grace Fane from Mary, Countess of Westmorland (1627-31).

[16] Steer, 'Inventory of Viscountess Dorchester', 414-5.

[17]Claxton, 'The Countess of Arundel's Dutch Pranketing Room', 187-196.

[18] Batho, *Household Papers of Henry Percy*, 117.

[19] J. Yorke, 'Royal Painted Furniture in King Charles I's England', in *Painted Wood History and Conservation* (Los Angeles 1998), 124: Rowell, 'A set of Early Seventeenth-Century Crimson Velvet Seat Furniture at Knole', 31-2: C. Hibbard, 'Henrietta Maria in the 1630s', in I. Atherton & J. Sanders ed., *The 1630s, essays on culture and politics in the Caroline era*, (Manchester, 2006), 99: G. Beard, *Upholsterers and Interior Furnishing in England 1530-1840*, (London 1997), 60: G. Beard & J. Coleman, 'The Knole Settee', *Apollo*, (April 1999), pp. 24-8.

be associated with the Queen, though not located in rooms. At Wimbledon the couch had its carpet, four backed chairs and six high stools with a table, valued at £70. There were at least five couches at Somerset House, the most expensive in cloth-of-gold valued at £388. Another couch had a canopy with plumes of feathers, which sounds like the couch with feathers set up in the gallery at Dunglass Castle.[20]These had rigid roofs; four others had canopies, one specified as round, another square, another in tent-like 'sparver' fashion. Simon Jervis relates these to the couch with a canopy of state recorded at Hardwick Hall.[21]

Only two of Henrietta Maria's couches were described in precise locations, in the Queen's cabinet room and gallery at Oatlands. The cabinet suite, supplied by Ralph Grynder, was furnished with crimson and yellow China satin hangings, curtains and upholstery, lined with russet fustian. The couch was accompanied by two chairs, eight folding stools, a Spanish table and a screen. The gallery furniture was of gilt leather and blue cloth. These locations are paralleled in Lady Home's inventories. Couches were also recorded in the inventories of the greatest courtiers, notably that of Katherine Manners, Duchess of Buckingham, later Marchioness of Antrim, who had three couches of scarlet, crimson and purple velvet with suites of matching seats at Dunluce.[22]Elizabeth Beaumont, a cousin of the Duke of Buckingham,had a couch atCaerlaverock in 1640,part of a drawing room suite of cloth-of-silver. (Lady Nithsdale'ssister was married to Lady Compton's son.)[23]Couches provided a focus in these drawing rooms and the emphasis laid on them by rugs and canopies suggest that they had a throne-like character. As seats of estate they transformed rooms and suites into formal reception spaces, the couches being proxy beds of estate or dais seats.

In the remainder of this section the dating and character of the locations of Lady Home's couches are examined. The inventories record the movement of couches, between Floors, Aldersgate, Twickenham Park, the Canongate, Donibristle and Dunglass. It is assumed that the couches described in the earliest inventory texts are in their original positions. The earliest settings are significant because they establish that the couches were commissioned

[20] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5, Canongate inventory.

[21] Millar, 'Inventories and valuations', 57, 83-4, 86-7, 127-8, 286, 288, 413, 422: Jervis, 'Furniture in the Commonwealth Inventories', 294.

[22] H. MacDonnell, 'A Seventeenth Century Inventory from Dunluce Castle, County Antrim', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. 122 (1992), pp. 109-127, 116-7.

[23] Fraser, *Book of Carlaverock*, vol. 2, 504: Wemyss, 'Aspiration and Ambition', 12, 142.

with accessory seats and matching hangings and curtains, intended to furnish particular spaces. Two or more contexts for couches appear; those apparently for repose, for reclining in bedchamber spaces and lady's cabinet spaces outside the bedchamber, can be contrasted with those in galleries and dining rooms. Although the couches may have been similar and interchangeable, the former might be regarded as secondary beds breaking out of the bedchamber, and the second group as a different current of seventeenth-century fashion informed by French (or Italian) practices.

Three of the couch suites recorded in 1624 at Floors and Twickenham furnished small rooms. The most completely described ensemble was at Floors Castle, installed in Lady Home's cabinet or closet in the gallery. The couch had a roof with curtains supported by the four posts. The covers were of woollenperpetuana with yellow lace. The walls were hung with the same stuff. The matching seats were a low chair and a high stool, with a plain joint stool.[24] Only a small number of companions could be invited into this space. The furnishing of this small room was almost unchanged in 1642. The chamber was entirely covered with the woollen perpetuana. This kind of room, it is proposed, was the first kind of setting for the day couch. This cabinet was a room within the gallery to which the countess could withdraw and seems to have been a 'day bedchamber',a private space reclaimed from the gallery. Lady Home could withdraw from company to this more restricted space. She had a table and a pestle and mortar in this cabinet, showing her preoccupation withthe production of compounds for physic was exercised at Floors.

A second small cabinet in the gallery at Floors was fully upholstered with green carsay with yellow and white silk fringes, with a valance under a shelf. This room had a single low chair and a little round table. There were three window cloths, and this well-lit and warm room was probably used for reading and writing by Lady Home. These two small rooms in the gallery were Lady Home's day-bedroom and day-study. The Earl of Rutland had a closet furnished with a couch and green woollen perpetuana at Wallingford House in 1655, so the gallery closet as 'day bedroom' need not have been particularly Scottish.[25]

[24] NRAS 217 box 5 nos. 9, 12, Floors.

[25] *HMC Rutland*, ii, 347.

A couch suite at Twickenham Park furnished the round closet in the gallery from 1624, perhaps an equivalent space to the 'day-bedchamber' within the gallery at Floors. The couch was a much smarter affair, its framepainted blue and white and gilded, upholstered with watched (blue) satin laid with broad gold lace and silver lace, all with cases of blue perpetuana. The couch had a secondary cover of blue and white tufted taffeta set with silver 'ois' – apparently circles, letter 'O's, and had a case cover with yellow baize. There were four matching folding stools and two French chairs. The walls of the closet were covered with gilt leather. The richness of the fabrics used at Twickenham is comparable to the Queen's closet at Oatlands – the woollen perpetuana and peat fire at Floors speaks more of comfort and practicality.

Another couch was used at Twickenham in the drawing chamber of thesuite of state rooms between the 'best bedchamber' and a 'great chamber' which was used as a dining room. The couch frame was painted green and silver. It had two wool mattresses forming the seats. The covers and four long cushions were of green and white figured satin with knops at their corners. Two high stools were covered with the same satin. Other seat upholstery in the room was also of green and silver, in velvet. The couch was later used in the gallery at Edinburgh, without the stools. The green and white fabric was probably chosen because it reflected the *vert* and *argent* of the Home heraldry.[26]In June 1633, 600 men of the Merse who escorted Charles I from Berwick to Dunglassdressed in green satin doublets with white taffeta scarves.[27]Anothergreen and white couch with en-suite furniture was brought to Edinburgh from the gallery at Dunglass Castle in the mid-1630s. It had a green canopy with feathers set in silver knops, green and white damask curtains, green and white tufted taffeta covers, and green baize case curtains. There was a matching screen, two high chairs, a low chair, four stools, a low stool and a foot stool, hangings, and nine matching windows curtains from the gallery at Dunglass, showing that this suite was intended for that space.[28] At Edinburgh the couchand the seating were used in the garden balcony room and the curtains were cut down to fit. The expensive heraldic coloured tufted taffeta at Dunglass, the grandeur of the feathered knops, and the sophisticated case curtains suggest that this suite was bought by Lady Home in anticipation of the royal visit in 1633.

[26] A. Nisbet, *System of Heraldry*, vol.1, (Edinburgh 1722), 270-1.

[27] J. Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, ii, (London 1721), 180: T. Frankland, *Annals of King James and King Charles the First*, (London 1681), 430.

[28] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5 inventory of Moray House.

The use oftheseheraldic green and white couches, at Twickenham and Dunglass may suggest the rooms were equivalent. The gallery in the Scottish house and Twickenham's best drawing chamber were suitable places for these special couches in family colours, and so despite the difference in room names these rooms can be linked in function. Unfortunately little can be known about Dunglass which was destroyed in 1640, and no inventory survives.[29] However, a likely correspondence is that the Dunglass gallery was adjacent to the Scottish equivalent of the great chamber, the chamber of dais, as discussed in Chapter Three.[30] In this position the furnishing would emphatically represent the earldom like a bed of estate.Another example in a Scottish gallery was the resting bed or chair at Aberdour Castle, mentioned above, where the gallery could serve as an antechamber to the principal bedchamber, though the dining chamber was in another part of the building.[31]

The best two couches at Twickenham had painted and gilded and silvered frames. While painted decoration need not have added significantly to the cost, it indicates that these were luxurious items, an impression reinforced by their lavish trimmings. The base fabric of satin was more expensive than the perpetuana used at Floors. The upholstered closet at Floors was not as lavishly furnished as the closet at Twickenham but was certainly warm and luxurious.

Lady Home kept a couch in a downstairs cabinet at Twickenham Park in 1624. This was in an area marked in Smythson's plan of the house as a lodging.[32] The room was called 'Her G[race's] cabinet', indicating the rooms were intended for a visiting duchess, perhaps Frances Howard, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox (d. 1639). The Duchess was a friend of the countess' brother Sir Ferdinand Dudley, who in his will in 1621 commended his daughter Frances to the Duchess of Lennox and to William Seymour, 2nd Lord Hertford, his wife's brother.[33]If the Duchess was a friend and frequent visitor at Twickenham she may have had

[29] J. Spalding, *History of the Troubles in Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1829), 202: W. Lithgow, *A briefe and summarie discourse upon that disaster at Dunglasse. Anno 1640. the penult of August* (Edinburgh, 1640)

[30] See E Cole, 'The State Apartment in the Jacobean Country House' University of Sussex PhD, 2011, 150-155, for the great chamber and its use as a dining room.

[31] NRS GD150/2843 nos. 1, 2, Aberdour Castle 1647 and earlier.

[32] RIBA 39603, Survey drawing of Lord Bedford's House, Twickenham, London.

[33] TNA PROB 11/138/549, will of Sir Ferdinand Dudley, given up to his sister Margaret Dudley wife of Miles Hobart.

an influence on Lady Home's taste. Lady Home had two silver water pots which she described as being made in Duchess of Richmond fashion.[34]Both women were patrons of the Scottish poet Patrick Hannay, who dedicated his *Nightingale* (1622) to the Duchess, and his*A Happy Husband, or Directions for a Maide to choose her Mate*(1619) to Lady Home's daughter Margaret. The couch in her grace's cabinet was covered with green cloth, and its frame at £4-4s-6d was similar in price to those supplied to Henrietta Maria in the 1630s.[35] Other couches of various descriptions furnished other reception rooms. One in Lady Home's cabinet in the Canongate was arranged for sleeping. It had a canopy with curtains and a valance cut in scallops, and had 'lous coveris to sleip on of prentado lynit with canves'. Prentado or pintado was an early version of Indian painted or printed calico cotton, also favoured by the Countess of Arundel in her bedchamber.[36] Another couch for sleeping was used in her bedchamber at Floors as well as a conventional bed. This couch had a pillow of fustian filled with flock and two mats (probably seats)and may have functioned as a bed for a special guest of the Countess.[37]

As we have seen, some couches were recorded in male spaces: there was one in Sir Hamon Le Strange's closetand another in the dining room at Hunstanton, one in the 'Lord's chamber' at Tart Hall was presumably for the use of the Earl of Arundel.[38] The Prince's bedchamber at Ludlow Castle contained a couch en-suite with the bed.[39]Contemporary literature however frequently locates the couch in a female context, with sexual encounters, or with illness. The following section outlines how the couch was regarded as suitable furnishing for elite women, drawing on contemporary literature in which it was attributed virtue and status.

8:3 The virtuous couch

In literature the couch was linked with women, sickness, and the potential for sexual license, and these themes and values must have attached to the piece of furniture. We have to assume that couch owners believed that the furniture projected positive values of prestige, virtue and

[34] TNA PROB 11/272/611, will of Mary Sutton, Countess of Home: NRAS 217 box 5.

[35] Rowell, 'A set of Early Seventeenth-Century Crimson Velvet Seat Furniture at Knole', 30-1.

[36] Howarth, 'The Patronage and Collecting of Aletheia Countess of Arundel', 134.

[37] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 12, Floors 1642.

[38]*Consumption and Gender*, 61, 133, 138: Cust, 'Notes on the Collections Formed by Thomas Howard, II, 98, 100.

[39] Millar, 'Inventories and valuations', 224.

authority, though most lierary reflections of the couch in literature did not. A recurrentmotif was Venus' 'adultrous couch' which Mars transformed into a trap for Vulcan.[40]In comedy the couch offered the possibility of casual sexual encounter, seen in James Shirley's *Love's Crueltie,*where the libertine Hippolito offers Clariana the choice of an encounter in bed or in a couch, and a walk in his gallery afterwards. He invites Clariana to wait for him in his picture gallery and locks her in lest he lose his opportunity.[41] Such louche associations may have subverted the actual use of furnishings, inventories show that the couch was considered an appropriate piece of furniture for the gallery and other reception rooms. The dramatic characterisation of the couch as furniture for the wanton had no effect on furnishing practice. While Hippolito's gallery and couch are the equipment for casual seduction, othernarratives take the same architectural and furnishing motif to construct a moral setting in which the couch itself promotes virtuous conduct and restraint.

Positive qualities were ascribed to the couch from classical and biblical texts. The word was frequently used to translate classical and biblical terms for subsidiary beds or day-beds. Those with a classical education may have associated the couch with Roman male power.Elite Roman men reclined while eating on couches. Reclining was associated with the concept of *otium* – an aristocratic conception of leisure, which included conviviality.[42] A second classical image came from the emperor's seat at the circus, the *pulvinare* which was often rendered as a couch.[43] The couch with its canopy has a close affinity to a seat of estate, a throne. A maxim of John Chrysostom, *numquam in sede, nec in pulvinari*, Jesus sat at the well, 'not on a seat or couch', was rendered in English as 'not on any couch or chayre of state'.[44]

A link between the couch and female estate was made explicit by the playwright Thomas Nabbes in his *Unfortunate Mother*. The chair of estate and the couch are introduced as the recognised attributes of a duchess, when Nabbes contrasted the material wealth of the aristocratwith the belongings of an ordinary man's wife:

[40] A. Fraunce, *Third Part of Countess of Pembroke's Yvychurch*, (London 1592), 31.

[41] J. Shirley, *Love's Crueltie*, (London 1640), sig. C3-v.

[42]M. Roller, *Dining Posture in Ancient Rome: Bodies, Values, and Status*, (Princeton 2006), 15-22.

[43] W. Killigrew, *Imperial Tragedy*, (London 1669), 25.

[44] W. Parks, *The Rose and the Lily*, (London 1639), 34.

> ... there's much difference
> Betwixt the Dutchesse and a subjects wife
> Betwixt a chair of estate and a thrum'd couch; [thrumbed: fringed]
> A wardrobe that would furnish a Jewes lumbre,
> And one embroydered petty-coate for sundries;
> And that not paid for too.[45]

Nabbes' audience recognised the couch as an indicator of female wealth and power (see fig. 8:2). In *Newmarket Fayre*, a satirical playlet of 1649, Mrs Cromwell has acquired a gown that cost £2000 and a day-couch usurped from the royal palace. When the couch conveyed this idea of estate users of the space were constrained to certain kinds of actions, a stimulus complementing architecture and plan. Reclining on a couch rather than sitting in a chair of estate may have sent out slightly different signals and received a differing response. Couches feature in contemporary literature with an ambivalence which plays exactly on this tension. The throne contributed most effectively to the discourse of power when all others were standing: only the most senior or high ranked person sits. Yet the sitting monarch is less physically imposing than his standing inferiors, and power is seen to derive not from bodily authority, but from the dignity of the sitter. So it was with the couch, the reclining host appears more relaxed than they, in comfort and also more physically vulnerable. The standing or less comfortably seated guests were to understand that it was they who were to be submissive. As the couch implies physical weakness more emphatically than the chair, thus the practice of receiving guests while reclining may have appeared more formal and autocratic.

Moreover, use of the couch in a reception room as the principal seat can be seen as an inversion of ordinary etiquette. Handbooks describe a male world; the French writer Antoine de Courtin, would have the master of the house offering the best seat, and sitting on a lesser chair or stool.[46] Female hosts did not follow a similar rule, and were unlikely to relinquish any kind of chair to a male guest. Lady Home would not have offered her couches to male visitors of any rank. Excluding male visitors from the couch is the theme of an exchange in Richard Brome's *Court Beggar*where the couch is identified as a vulnerable object easily

[45] T. Nabbes, *The Unfortunate Mother*, (London 1640), sig. G3.

[46] Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter à Paris*, 58.

damaged by men's spurs and equated with the female body. Three wits are invited by a chambermaid to await the widow Lady Strangelove in her gallery. They notice the couch and the maid Philomel asks them not to damage it:

> Philomel. Here in this gallery Gentlemen you may at your pleasure, Untill my Lady comes, walk or sit.
> Court-wit. Or lie down if you please.
> Philomel. If you so, wrong not my Ladies Couch with your Spurres I pray: take heed you leave not a Rowell there.
> Swayne-wit. If one should, your Lady has no Lord to call her honour to question whose Knight-hood it belong'd unto.[47]

It was not suitable or expected for a visiting man fully dressed with spurs and sword to recline – men did not use these couches. It would be inappropriate for a male visitor to leave a spur-wheel in the couch for a husband to find it – as if the bed had been defiled. This caution does not apply to the widow Lady Strangelove who has no husband to fear. The joke depends on the couch being understood as furnishing for women, reserved for the use of ladies who were delicate and easily damaged. In the comedic subtext the couch has become proxy for the body and person of the lady. These characteristics of vulnerability were transferred from the couch to women and their reputations.

Reclining on couches could be a sign of sickness and recuperation, both for men and women. In literature male convalescents are discovered lying on couches: 'they found him with a vissage pale and wanne, laid all along on a velvet couch'.[48]In a room furnished in mourning black, a black couch may have represented a catafalque – the catafalque was called a *crazy couch* in contemporary poetry, craziness meaning infirmity.[49]Despite Lady Home's interest in physic and collection of couches there is no indication that she herself was an invalid. While the couches do not seem to be connected with actual illness, sickness could be associated with the virtue of penitence, and the couch as a locus of repentance was endorsed in Calvinist preaching and literature on the story of David and Bathsheba. Lady Home had a copy of

[47] R. Brome, *Five New Plays*, (London 1653), Sig. o4-r: Court Beggar, Act II Scene I: *Richard Brome Online* (http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome, 27 August 2014), ISBN 978-0-9557876-1-4.

[48] J. Hayward, *Donzella desterrada. Or, The banish'd virgin* (London 1635), 200.

[49] R. Braithwait, *English Gentleman* (London 1630), 332.

Thomas Playfere's *Sermons* which includes his 'Sicke Mans Couch'.[50] The sermon was first preached at Greenwich for Prince Henry in 1605. The text was Psalms 6:6, 'I water my couch with tears'. King David washed his bed and watered his couch with tears. Playfere in his exegesis makes this distinction: the bed is to sleep in at night, and a couch is to sleep upon in the daytime. The couch that had been the location of David's adultery, and then watered with his tears became 'an eternall monument of his victorie and triumph over the divill'. Playfere makes David's couch a symbol of virtue 'sanctifiet by repentance', in his grief, David 'kept the same couch still, and changed his mind'.[51] This sermon was printed several times and could have contributed to a morally positive image of the newly fashionable day-couch or easy-couch, its virtue endorsed by prophets, with the agency to change minds for the better, encouraging reflection and penitence.

Fig 8:2, Lady and couch, c. 1619, *Vere Egerton* attrib. Robert Peake (Dunham Massey, National Trust)

[50] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 1, Donibristle inventory.

[51] T. Playfere, *Whole Sermons*, (London 1623), sig. H4: P. E. McCullough, 'Playfere, Thomas (*c.*1562–1609)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22372, accessed 27 Aug 2014].

A couch plays a civilising rolein Percy Herbert's allegory of the Civil War, *Cloria and Narcissus*. Cloria, according to the preface, was intended both for Princess Mary, the Princess Royal, the 'kings daughter, but also sometimes his National Honour'.[52] Herbert makes the couch a place of refuge which diffuses threatened seduction or rape in a gallery. Cloria was a guest in the palace of her unwelcome suitor Osirus. She retired for her recreation in the gallery of her lodging. While she mused on her predicament studying a picture of *Philomela's Ravishment*, the Ovidian story of a ravished woman transformed into a nightingale, Cloria was surprised by the entry of Osirus through a secret door. He chased her along the gallery. When he caught up with her, she fainted in his arms, as she was short of breath, so he took her by the hand and 'led [her] softly to a couch-chair at the end of the gallery, there to repose herself until her distempers were absolutely over'. Osirus sat near the couch, but not on it, and continued talking his suit a long while, before leaving peacefully.[53] Women could be vulnerable in galleries, but showing this vulnerability, and using the couch would restore them to their health and decorum to men.

The setting is of course contemporary and has nothing to do with eastern antiquity. In early modern culture, the idea that the frustrated lover would turn ravisher was rehearsed in law, in conduct manuals, and in ballads and plays. A rapist would claim that his desire was too strong to be overcome, and self-control in sexual matters was a womanly virtue.[54]When Cloria fainted, Osirus reacted to her weakness by leading her to the couch. Osirus' passion was mollified by the display of female weakness and the contextual constraint imposed by the couch in the gallery, which constructed appropriate behaviour. The couch has its role in the promotion of virtue: the house has become orderly, Cloria's or 'National' honour was protected. Osirus was transformed for the moment from monstrous brute to a responsible gentleman.

Herbert raised apprehension and signalled Cloria's vulnerability to readers by including a painting of Philomela. An aspect of the legend aids his construction of the gallery as a

[52] B. Lockey, *Law and Empire in English Renaissance Literature*, (Cambridge 2006), 226: [Percy Herbert] , *The Princess Cloria*, (London 1661), sig.A2.

[53] P. Salzman, 'Royalist Epic and Romance' in N. Keeble ed., *Cambridge Companion to the Writing of the English Revolution*, (Cambridge 2001), 224-6: [Percy Herbert], *Cloria and Narcissus*, (London, 1653), 193-201.

[54] G. Walker, 'Everyman or a Monster? The Rapist in Early Modern England, c.1600–1750, *History Workshop Journal*, (Autumn 2013) 76 (1): 5-31.

civilised refuge. Philomela's rape contrasts a rural location with the civility of the gallery. Ovid set the rape in a cabin in the woods, imagined as the antithesis of pastoral delight, Patrick Hannay (the poet patronised by Lady Home and the Duchess of Richmond) described it asa 'winter-wasted wood' spoiled of beauty and neglected by nature itself.[55]The gallery is contrasted with unrestrained barbarity. There was no painting of*Philomela* in the Edinburgh gallery, but Lady Home had three depictions of Lucretia in her gallerywhich like a*Philomela* would encourage reflections on chastity, virtue and conduct.

Cloria's predicament is a recurrent motif illustrating the dramatic potential of the seventeenth-century couch and gallery. The theme of the unwelcome encounter reappears in Lady Halkett's autobiography. She describes a meeting with an unwelcome suitor Thomas Howard in Charlton's gallery. Halkett tells us that it was inappropriate for an unmarried woman to meet a man in a gallery alone – especially as her mother had warned her against the man. Agreeing to meet Howard in the gallery at Charlton was to 'yield so farre to comply with his desire'.[56] Halkett's storyinverts the roles of Cloria and Osirus. Howard lost his nerve and became as 'pale as death' and his hand trembled as he led her, presumably to a couch, for their more civilised discussion. Aphra Behn also inverted the motif with a trembling hero Octavio led to the couch by his lover Silvia.[57] The gendered couch reinforced perceptions of vulnerability, nervousness and hysteria by serving as their remedy. Halkett and Behn recognise and subvert this construction.

Fictions from the theatre permeated and propagated court culture, as Halkett herself describes. She described herself at Dunfermline Palace quoting from Fletcher's *Humourous Lieutenant* when experiencing unwanted male attention. Plays and romances could reflect and condition aristocratic manners, and Halkett's narrative was constructed both from observation and assumptions drawn from literature.[58] While recognising her use of forms from literature

[55] L. A. Ritscher, *The Semiotics of Rape in Renaissance English Literature* (New York 2009), 25-33: M. Parker, *The Nightingale Warbling Forth her own Disaster* (London 1632), sig. Br, st. 25: P. Hannay, *The Nightingale, Sheretine and Mariana, A happy husband, Eligies on the death of Queene Anne* (London 1622), 50.

[56] Nichols, *Autobiography of Anne Lady Halkett*, 3-5, 61.

[57] A. Behn, *Love-letters between a noble-man and his sister*, vol.3 (London 1687),51, sig. D2.

[58]J. Kearns, 'Fashioning Innocence: Rhetorical Construction of Character in the Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, vol. 46, No. 3, Complicated Monsters (Fall 2004), pp. 340-362, 346, 350.

may discourage naive readings of her text as reportage, the same observation should encourage the use of fiction as a source for seventeenth-century manners. Where unmarried women were under constant surveillance unconsidered action could be perilous and lead to misunderstanding.An architectural feature of Lady Home's houses, the balconies in the Canongate and Aldersgate became prominent and sexualised in drama where they were associated with female display and prostitution.[59] Where unmarried women were under constant surveillance unconsidered action could be perilous and lead to misunderstanding.

8:5 Conclusion

Couches were fashionable in the early decades of the seventeenth century – and while they could be used by men and women, literary tropes predominantly associate them with women. Lady Home had couches in galleries and other reception rooms, and in closets which led off galleries, a context which might be thought of as a 'day-bedchamber'. The couch equipped with canopy and curtains and placed on a carpet in a drawing broom was a chair of estate, emphasising the status of Lady Home or perhaps to be offered to a privileged (female) guest. The couch in a small closet within the gallery could introduce a new subtlety into social proceedings, where the Countess could withdraw from company, but not to her bedchamber, remaining present but not visible to guests remaining in the gallery.

At the Canongate House all visitors would have been received in rooms furnished with couches. Literary references characterise the couch in the gallery as a locus of sexual tension. The couch was idealised as a seat of virtue in contrast to the defiled beds of Lucretia and Philomela. Pictures of those classical rapes accompanied couches in galleries; Lady Home had three representations of Lucretia. The couch and the pictures attributed conventional female virtuesto Lady Home and her family. This was a facet of a network of furnishings including paintings ofvirtuous women, and equipmentforthe preparation and consumption of food and medicine, a network constructing an identity based on healing and nurturing virtues. Friends accepted the furnishing as background to a shared pursuit of health and solace imagining themselves in a circle of virtuous women.

[59]A. Zucker, 'Laborless London: Comic Form and the Space of the Town in Caroline Covent Garden',*Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Fall - Winter, 2005), pp. 94-119.

The couches were bought in London.In Scotland, the opulence and novel taste of these rooms may have emphasised social and national differences to many visitors. Some delighted by the new forms of entertainment offered in these new rooms would have been inspired to emulate new styles, others may have found them unpalatable. The experience offered in these rooms was limited to a more restricted echelon of society than that offered in great halls. The display of lavish furnishings, the couch with curtains and numerous paintings in these reception rooms, wasaccompanied with new manners and conventions. Such a change would reveal older existing patterns of deference, and perhaps create unease which could alienate visitors who thought, like Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, that the new English habits acquired by the aristocracy did not serve them well in Scotland.[60]When drawing rooms and couches can be seen in a network embracing objects, people and events, though it is perhaps hazardous to attempt to attribute to them a significant causative role in political events, the idea that acquiring these furnishings was recognisable as a political act should not be discounted.

[60] D. Stevenson, 'The English Devil of Keeping State, Elite Manners and the Downfall of Charles I'

Chapter 9 Visiting Moray House in the 1630s

9:1 Introduction

Previous chapters cited inventories made by Mary, dowager countess of Home for new patterns of acquisition, consumption, and display in the seventeenth century. Those inventories include that of her Edinburgh townhouse in the Canongate, now called Moray House in 1631.[1] The inventory, as shown in Chapter Five, includes furnishings in fashionable court style, some of which were also used in her Aldersgate town house. Such items are less conspicuous in her inventory of Floors Castle or Twickenham Parksuggesting that they were not used in her country houses. While the furnishings of her other houses were rich and expensive, new fashions were showcased in the townhouses. The arrangement of rooms at Moray House was different to traditional urban plans or castle and country house planning. Reception rooms appear to have been flexible in use, accessed from three or more external turnpike stairs. Only wing with a pair of balcony rooms, the latest part of the house, now survives. Its plaster ceilings employ moulds used in contemporary buildings in Lothian.[2] Knowledge of the building is supplemented by a nineteenth-century sketch (fig. 9:3) and sketch-plan (fig. 9:4).

The inventory invites reconstruction of the function of theseclusters of reception rooms. This chapter offers an interpretation of these rooms which emphasises their novelty, flexibility and independent functions. Earlier Scottish inventories rarely have more reception rooms than hall or gallery. The plan may have been intended to offer the kind of hospitality and reception offered in London townhouses but was also adapted for a female household.[3]Some furniture was noted as belonging to the Aldersgate House, in 1630 and 1635 the countess had let her London townhouse to Carlos Coloma, the Spanish ambassador, so some pieces may have been shipped to Edinburgh because the house was let.[4]The proliferation of drawing chambers may be due to the make-up of the household, these rooms suited to female entertainment. The commitment of patrons to architectural display and ostentatious interiors in Edinburgh may have been variable in the seventeenth century. In many cases their country houses may have

[1] NRAS 217 box 5, no.5.

[2] Napier, ‘‘Kinship and Politics in the Art of Plaster Decoration’, 156, 162, 170.

[3] J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster* (Manchester 2005), 137-180.

[4] Loomie, *The Note Books of John Finet*, 73, 87.

more elaborately furnished than their town lodging, if they owned one, and many aristocratic visitors to Edinburgh rented accommodation.

The inventory of Moray House, the surviving fabric and early plans do not point to a house organised with one processional route from entrance and services to principal bedchamber. Instead clusters of rooms accommodate different types of visit. In reception rooms the furnishings, the ubiquitous couches, the paintings of exemplary women and subjects celebrating healing and nourishment, and vessels connected to physic, and the balcony overlooking the garden can be understood as a strategy promoting positive images of female virtue and health. Both the planning and furnishing were conceived for the use of female host and visitors. The schematic diagram of the main rooms (below) is based on the inventories of 1631 and 1683 and nineteenth-century drawings and sketch plans by James Skene and John Sime.[5]

Fig. 9:1 Moray House, James Gordon of Rothiemay 1647 (NLS)

[5] RCAHMS John Sime Album: Edinburgh Capital Collections, 'Moray House' by James Skene: NRAS 217 box 5 no. 558, inventory of 1683.

Fig.9:2diagram of the principal (second) floor suites at Moray House

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2"></td><td colspan="5">Canongate</td></tr>
<tr><td>Street Balcony room</td><td>Dining room</td><td>Drawing room</td><td>Gallery</td><td>Drawing chamber with chequered floor</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">stair</td><td rowspan="3"></td><td>stair</td><td rowspan="2">Courtyard</td><td>stair</td><td>Lady Home’s bedchamber</td></tr>
<tr><td>Garden balcony room</td><td colspan="2"></td><td rowspan="3">Lady Home’s Cabinet</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Passage or gallery</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">Lady Doune’s bed chamber and nursery</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Lady Anne’s Bedchamber</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Garden</td></tr>
</table>

Fig. 9.3 James Skene, Moray House, 1827 (Capital Collections)

This imagined view by James Skene shows the south quarter removed revealing thestair turrets in the inner courtyard. The centrally-placed turnpike led to the central drawing chamber and dining room. The east re-entrant stair led to the gallery and Lady Home's drawing chamber.

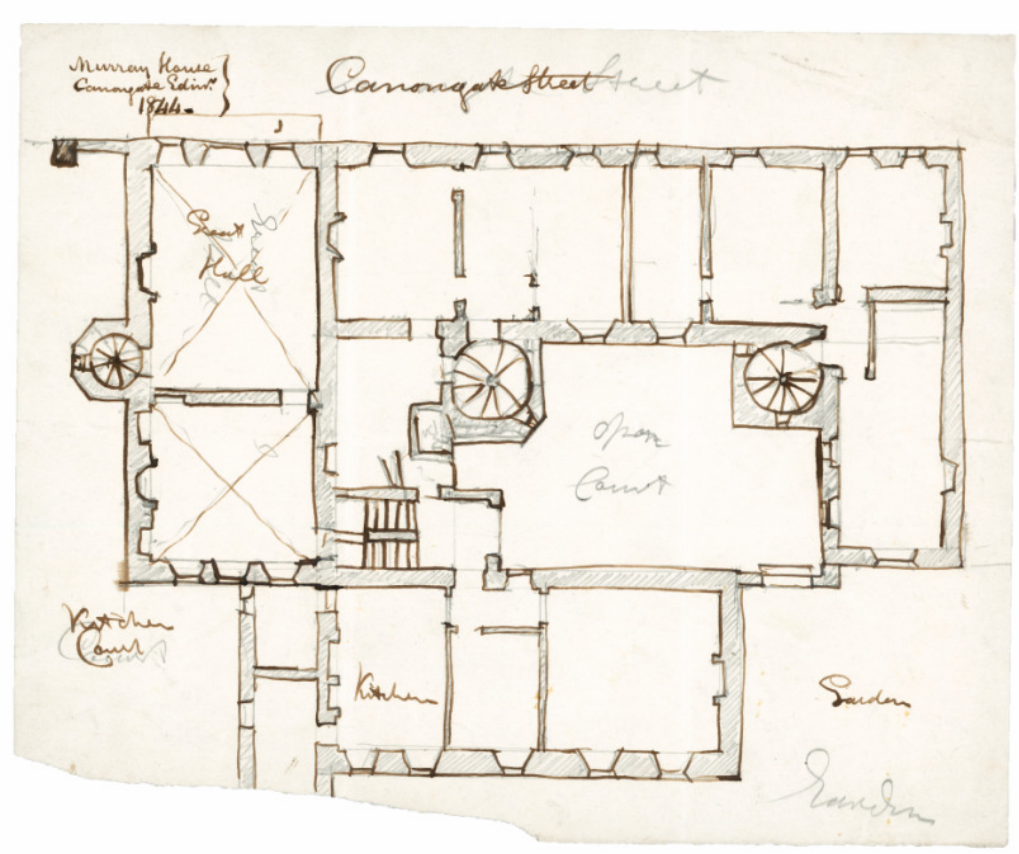

Fig. 9.4 Sketch plan of Moray House by John Sime (1844), (RCAHMS)
John Sime called the street balcony room the 'great hall'. The wing to the south was an eighteenth-century building.

Most of the rooms detailed in the inventory were on the second floor (fig. 9:2). Below, on the first floor, there was a bedchamber and outer chamber for the builder's son, James Home 2nd Earl of Homewho usually resided in London, or at Dunglass Castle.[6] Only the basic furnishing of this suite was recorded. Bedding in the outer chamber for Lord Home's 'man' was noted as listed in the Dunglass inventory. When the Earl died in 1633 the Privy Council ordered an embargo on the movement of his papers at Moray House, but there is no mention of any kind of muniment room in the inventory.[7] Neither is there any mention of his wife Grace Fane, Countess of Home (d. 1633). Lord Home's possessions were not in the scope of his mother's inventory.

[6] *HMC Athole & Home*, 109: *HMC Milne Home*, 248.

[7] *Register of the Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. 5, 46-7.

Male servants were lodged on the first floor, and the lettermeat hall and gentlemen's dining room where they ate may have been here. The kitchen and other offices were on the ground floor with some vaults used for storage or shops. There was also a suite of reception rooms called the vault rooms, which seem to have been garden rooms and do not seem to have communicated directly with the bedchambers and other reception rooms. The female servants and a dwarf Meg Candie were accommodated in the garrets.

This chapter investigates the use of these rooms to reveal glimpses of activity which may be novel, or were simply not visible in different kinds of lists of household objects. Here reception rooms are identified with rich furnishings including couches but without beds for sleeping. The dining room is clearly identified in the inventory. Other rooms with marble tables probably served as banqueting rooms, including two summer houses, where sweetmeats and special meals were served. It seems natural to treat these rooms for eating also as reception rooms. As argued in the previous chapter, in these rooms the couch was the principal seat.

9:2 Four suites or clusters of rooms

The main text of the Moray House inventory was written in 1631 when the building may have been new. In June 1630 Chancellor Dupplin awarded drinksilver to Lady Home's masons.[8] This action by a public official recognised that the new building was an ornament to Edinburgh, in the context of the much discussed and much delayed visit by Charles I.[9] Dunglass Castle was planned to be a venue for Charles' first night in Scotland in May 1633, as it had been for James in 1617.[10]It seems that houses in Scotland were made ready to receive Charles I and his entourage during the coronation visit, and subsequently some of the best furnishings taken to London and Twickenham. Notes in the Twickenham inventory recordhangings and the 'King's bed' brought from Scotland in the 1630s. In 1636 the gilt leather hangings of the gallery at Floors were dismantled and set up in the gallery and closet at Twickenham, and leftovers used to upholster chairs, a couch and hang a new banqueting

[8] NRS GD150/3236/25.

[9] D. Bergeron, 'Charles I's Edinburgh Pageant (1633)', *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 6 no. 2, (2008), 173-184 .

[10] P. Walker, *Documents Relative to the Reception in Edinburgh of Kings & Queens* (Edinburgh, 1822), 105.

house.[11]These furnishings were likely to have been purchased in London – and Lady Home felt they served her better in England.

In 1631 the house in Edinburgh was almost at its best, but the inventory suggests that the balcony rooms in the west wing were not yet complete. These were added to the text, and the garden balcony room was furnished with a green and white suite fromthe gallery at Dunglass Castle. This change was completed after the death of James 2nd Earl of Home in February 1633. (His wife Grace Fane returned to Apethorpe and died a few weeks later.)Charles passed by Dunglass Castle, escorted from Berwick by the new Earl of Home, but was not entertained there since it was still the possession of the dowager Countess.Thereafter Lady Home continued to occupy the Canongate house.

Four clusters of reception rooms can be identified at Moray House by the mid-1630s. These were: the pair of balcony rooms; the dining room, drawing chamber and gallery; Lady Home's drawing chamber and cabinet; and the vault rooms. The specific rooms used in these clusters could have varied on occasion. There were no guest bedchambers – no-one was expected to stay with the family in town, in contrast to castle and country house inventories where unallocated bedchambers can be identified. These reception suites functioned almost independently of the family bedchambers – only Lady Home's bedchamber rooms were appointed for visiting. The building was planned with urban visiting and calling in mind, rather than hospitality based on the hall or overnight stays. In the country, guest accommodation was provided in bedchambers stacked in wings of tower houses, an arrangement seen in a contemporary inventory of Castle Stewart written by Margaret, Lady Moray.[12]

An external stair still leads directly to the two balcony rooms, which were furnished like drawing chambers. Another turnpike led up to the central drawing chamber between dining room and gallery, and a third turnpike led to a lobby serving Lady Home's bed chamber, the gallery and the 'drawing chamber with a chequered floor', (fig 9.2). This drawing chamber

[11] NRAS box 5 no. 13, fols. 20, 35-38, 'Item the geild lethir that is set doune to Johne is maid in ane couch bed and ane frame to it, which took five skines and five borders Mor the french chares took four skenes and twelf borders all thes ar fro borders and ther is put in to the new banqueting hous hangings three of the new side borders and ten of the top and bottom borders'.

[12] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 828 Inventory of Castle Stewart 1638.

with chequered floor could be regarded as a room reached from the gallery, the withdrawing room for Lady Home's bedchamber, or as the first reception room reached by certain privileged visitors – as was the case with the two balcony rooms. Apart from proximity, the room was linked to Lady Home's bedchamber suite by the use of pintado, painted Indian calico fabric, which also furnished the cabinet beyond Lady Home's bedchamber. All available options were probably used as occasion demanded.

Direct access by stair to thesedrawing-chambers seems unusual, and it is apparent that the house lacks one single and grander entrance and stair. Moreover access via outer chambers, more sparsely furnished antechambers might be expected. This is indeed the case with the vault rooms, which had a central lobby, called the 'the utter vault,' hung with paintings but no seating or other furniture. In Parisian hôtels such *antechambres*sparsely furnished with quality pieces gave a foretaste of the rooms beyond. Some features of the Moray house plan and room furnishings have parallels with French inventories, which may equate to an international style.[13]

Few narratives of visiting houses in Scotland reveal important points of etiquette. There are no equivalents of the instructions given in ordinances for English noble households. These however applied to the grandest of English houses and do not address the urban social call.[14] The roles of servants who acted as porters, ushers and footmen are rarely elaborated: accounts mention 'gentlemen' servants rather than these more detailed job titles. With four separate accesses to be managed, Moray House must have been busy with servants taking messages from courtyard or street.

Ann Murray, later Lady Halkett, recorded details of visiting in Edinburgh in 1650. She was a daughter of Thomas Murray (d. 1623), who had been tutor and secretary to Prince Charles. She was of a second generation of Scots in London and would understand court etiquette well.Her mother was the governess of Princess Mary, the Princess Royal, and Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester.[15] Halkett wrote an account of her visit to the Argyll family in June 1650,

[13] Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter à Paris*, 73.

[14] E. Cole, 'The State Apartment in the Jacobean Country House', 125-41.

[15]David Stevenson, 'Halkett , Anne , Lady Halkett (1623–1699)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11934, accessed 27 Aug 2014]: R.

her first formal call in Edinburgh giving some clues to the etiquette of visiting a noble lady and her daughter.[16] The Argyll family was allied to the Moray Stewarts in politics and by marriage in these years, Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne married Mary Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Moray in 1650, and the etiquette practised at Argyll House was likely to be similar to that at Moray House. Halkett stresses that the civility and good manners of the family of the Marquess of Argyll were unexpectedly 'English', as good as conduct found in England. The Marquess later published a conduct book, and remarked on increasing conformity in hospitality between Scotland and England.[17]

Halkett's concise storyincludes relevant material on etiquette and room use. Its purpose was to praise the manners of Lady Ann Campbell. When Halkett came to Edinburgh she stayed in a lodging house belonging to Alexander Pieris near to Holyroodhouse. This did not seem an ideal entrée to aristocratic society, but Pieris told her that the 'best quality lay there that had nott howses of there owne'.[18]Argyll visited her at the lodging and next day sent his coach so she could call in Edinburgh onMargaret Douglas, Marchioness of Argylland daughter of William 7th Earl of Morton. Arriving by coach was a courtesy extended for form's sake as the Argyll Lodging was not far away. She called the visit 'waiting upon his lady'. Halkett came upstairs and was met in an 'outtward roome' by Lady Ann Campbell, who broughther into another room to meet Lady Argyll. Halkett attributes her good impressions entirely to the handsome appearance and dress of Ann Campbell, and her obliging manner and behaviour and her mother's bearing – 'equal to any seen in the court of England', not to any physical aspect of Argyll House.[19] Although the coach and furnishings of the reception rooms must have contributed to her delight she does not say so, instead her approbation is vested in her host's person. This is an important insight, that the material context was perceived as secondary to the good manners and presentation of aristocrats themselves. Furnishing was simultaneously visible and invisible, not usually worthy of mention, though contributing to a discourse of power and social difference, qualities which Halkett located in her appreciation of Ann Campbell's civility.

Malcolm Smuts, 'Murray, Thomas (1564–1623)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19648, accessed 5 Sept 2014].

[16] Nichols, *Autobiography of Anne Lady Halkett*, 56.

[17] Bryson, *Courtesy to Civility*, 141.

[18] Nichols, *Autobiography of Anne Lady Halkett*, 56-7.

[19] J. Dawson, *Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary Queen of Scots*, (Cambridge 2002), 79 n. 158.

The Argylls had owned London townhouses including Fisher's Folly in Bishopsgate between 1609 and 1616, later used by the Marquess of Hamilton.[20] It would not be surprising if they managed visits and courtesy to relative strangers in their Edinburgh townhouse in an English manner. In his *Instructions to a Son* the Marquess advised compliance with English manners and increasing levels of expenditure in entertaining in his own country (i.e. Argyll).[21] Felicity Heal argued that entertaining in town had supplanted rural hospitality in England, accelerating the declining use of the great hall. The advantages of socialising in London, as portrayed in literature, appealed particularly to women.[22] Linda Peck drew attention to play-going by young unmarried women.[23] It is not so clear that Edinburgh offered the same attractions and obligations as London, or that receiving guests in Edinburgh had yet diminished the importance of hospitality in the regions. In England two modes of entertainment in town and country developed.[24] These modes, as Ian Warren argues for London, existed in parallel in the seventeenth century, urban identities complimenting authority based on landownership.[25] In town, guests were carefully selected as individuals or in small groups. Lady Home's variety of reception spaces served these needs in receiving a variety of urban visitors.

Returning to the detail of Halkett's visit, she must have been welcomed at the Argyll lodging by a servant. Her credentials as a visitor were assured by arrival in the Argyll coach. She was brought upstairs to an outward room, where she met Lady Ann. This might have involved two servants, one bringing the guest up the stairs while another announced the visitor to the ladies. Halkett also describes her lodging in Lord Tweeddale's Edinburgh house and how servants announced her visitors. When she was with Lord Dunfermline and another unknown

[20] B. Maxwell, *Studies in Beaumont Fletcher and Massinger* (London, 1966), 118-120: L. Peck, 'Building, Buying and Collecting in London', 275.

[21] Campbell, *Instructions to a Son*, 80-1

[22]Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, ch. 4, 142-7, 152 citing M. Butler, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632-1642* (Cambridge 1987), 162-4

[23]L. Peck, 'The Caroline Audience: Evidence from Hatfield House'*Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 51, No. 4 (Winter, 2000), pp. 474-477.

[24]J. Husselby and P. Henderson, 'Location, Location, Location! Cecil House in the Strand' *Architectural History,* Vol. 45 (2002), pp. 159-193.

[25]I. Warren, 'The English Landed Elite and the Social Environment of London c.1580–1700: the Cradle of an Aristocratic Culture?', *English Historical Review* (2011) CXXVI (518): pp.44-74.

visitor, one of Tweeddale's servants entered to tell her of a third visitor, the untitled Mr Dickson. She went to meet him at the door, but explains that this was 'cheefely to aske one of my Lord D. servants what gentleman that was with his lord'.[26] This reveals two aspects of etiquette: she would not ordinarily have gone to the door for Mr Dickson, and Dunfermline's servants waited at the door.

At Argyll House, Lady Anne moved into the outward room to meet Halkett. After theirsatisfactory conversation, she was 'brought in' to the room where the Marchioness sat. These rooms were adjacent, an outward and an inward room. The person greeting has condescended to move to the outward space – as Halkett herself chose to greet Mr Dickson at the door. Similar manoeuvres were codified in manuals like Obadiah Walker's chapter on civility.[27] Walker cited the punctiliousness of Romans and Neapolitans in observing ceremony in visiting, and explains that the English exercised more 'freedom and little jealousy'. Visits to women take place in the afternoon. The visit would be terminated after a 'convenient time'. Significantly, women are 'entreated not to stir out of the Chamber of entertainment' to greet the newcomer. Walker means a room like the inward room where Lady Argyll received visitors. The same etiquette would have obtained at Moray House, where reception rooms should be regarded as 'chambers of entertainment'. But at Moray House outward rooms were not provided. Visitors might be brought into a room, or to a stair-head landing, by a servant and meet Lady Doune or Anne Home (Lady Maitland), who could take the guest to see their mother in an inward room, but few outward rooms can be discovered in inventory or plan.

For visiting or calling in Edinburgh a suite of two rooms and a staircase were an adequate architectural provision. Halkett did not identify rooms as halls, drawing chambers or by other names, only as outward and inward – an insight into self-orientation in early modern houses – knowing that one was in an outward room, and might move to an inward room. Identifying this relationship between rooms is more useful in understanding their use than placing too much reliance on room names, or contested criteria like privacy. People were labelled or self-identified by moving between rooms, either being invited to move into an inward space, or as

[26] Nichols ed., *Autobiography of Lady Ann Halkett*, 76-8.

[27] Walker, *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen*, part II chapter 1, at p. 221-3 sig. K3-4.

host, condescending to move outwards. These ideas will help explain the long-demolished clusters of rooms described so minutely in the Moray House inventory.

Conduct books give some clues to expected response to architectural cues. Rather than the grand sounding *antecamera*mentioned in Obadiah Walker's chapter on Italianate civility the outward rooms at Moray House seem to be lobbies and landings, – mere thresholds. These vestigial spaces may have adequate spaces for personal servants to wait while their masters or mistresses progresses into intimate private spaces alone. In Chapter Three the hall and its furnishing were examined: the first-floor hall was the first room entered by guests. Other rooms were accessed by guests from the hall, via the chamber of dais, or by stairs. The plan of Moray House was different: there was no hall, and the second-floor reception rooms could be accessed by different stairs and entrances or from each other. If at Moray House the stairs and landings were notionally antechambers, this should prompt reflection that thresholds in previous traditions counted as rooms rather than merely means of access.

9:2.1 Gallery, drawing chamber and dining room

The first three rooms listed in the 1631 inventory were the gallery, a drawing chamber, and the dining room. Another inventory confirms the spatial relationship of these rooms; a long white turkey carpet from Floors Castle was 'layd under the couch in the drawing chamber betwixt the gallery and the dyninge roome in Edenbrough' on 23 March 1642.[28] In 1683 the drawing room was again identified as a room between the dining room and gallery.[29]The arrangement seems puzzling, as it is often assumed that drawing chambers are antechambers to bedrooms.[30] Mark Girouard describes how the name 'withdrawing room' reflects an earlier English usage. English great chambers could have smaller withdrawing chambers and galleries.[31] Emily Cole discusses the withdrawing chamber as a room leading from a great chamber or dining chamber.[32] The rooms at Moray House have this character, the dining room being equivalent to the English great chamber. However, at Moray House the two

[28] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 12, Floors 1642.

[29] NRAS 217 box 5, no. 558, inventory of Moray House, 1683.

[30]N. Cooper, *Houses of the Gentry 1480-1680* (London, 1999), 289-93: Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 60.

[31] Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 94-102: G. Whetstone, *Heptameron of Civil Discourses* (London 1582), sig. c1-v.

[32] Cole, 'The State Apartment in the Jacobean Country House', 155-8, 192-3.

drawing chambers (and the two balcony rooms) could be accessed from external stairs, and they must have often been the first reception room entered by certain visitors, (figs. 9:2, 9:5).

<table>
<tr><td>Lady Home's bedchamber</td><td>Stair / lobby</td><td></td><td>Stair</td><td></td><td>Stair</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Drawing chamber with chequered floor</td><td>Gallery</td><td>Drawing chamber</td><td>Dining room</td><td>Balcony rooms</td></tr>
</table>

Fig. 9:5: schematic layout of the Dining Room / Drawing Chamber / Gallery rooms, and stairs at Moray House.

The central drawing room had hangings and soft furnishings, creating a more comfortable atmosphere than the imposing luxury of the gallery with its Italianate chairs. There was a close stool and a screen offering comfort and practical luxury to visitors. There were six chairs and a couch, lighting included two silver candlesticks and a silver elephant's head with two nozzles, which was presumably a wall-mounted candelabra. Later, an ebony cabinet on a stand was introduced and extra lighting was provided by five silver candleholders or sconces described as 'arms with lyon's heads'. Three of these had belonged to the queen mother,meaning the Queen Mother of France, Marie de' Medici, who visited London in 1638.[33] The Countess may have been prompted to buy these candleholders because of the lion heraldry of the Homes and Dudleys.[34]The emphasis on luxurious lighting suggests use at night.

The gallery could be reached from the eastern courtyard stair, but was alsoa space beyond the drawing chamber, its smarter furnishings of the rooms confirm this reading – by the quality of the fire irons. The gallery had 'ane fyre shewell and tungs of irne tipit with bras, ane pair of bellies with a bras nois'. The shovel and tongs in the drawing chamber were also tipped with brass, but the bellows were ordinary. In the dining room the fire irons were plain. The

[33] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5.

[34] Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter a Paris*, 235.

number of seats supports the idea of a reduced chosen company: there were fifteen chairs in the dining room and only six in the drawing chamber with a couch for Lady Home. This gallery might be better imagined as a room of leisure with its games equipment.

The gallery seating comprised a green couch and eight wooden Italianate chairs. These uncomfortable chairs do not suggest that guests sat here for long periods and they may have been used with the marble table for banqueting. The room was used for leisure, but perhaps not for promenading as it maynot have been very long, and playing billiards and tables, a game like backgammon. It is possible that playing these games might have been the main purpose of this gallery. If so were guests invited to play games a more exclusive group than diners or drawing room users? This would seem likely given the leisure role of 'galleries' in older houses which were not picture galleries. But another use of the urban gallery is seen in plays like Ben Jonson's *Volpone* or Brome's *Court Beggar*, where visitors are required to wait there. The Edinburgh gallery could have been intended as the first reception room.

The three rooms were connected but do not fit the model of use suggested by an enfilade – the drawing room company need not have a close connection with the users of a gallery, and it makes little sense to think gallery visitors were a subgroup of those made welcome in the drawing room. It is likely that the gallery was used as a reception room independently of the dining room. Visitors were almost certainly able to access the gallery or drawing room using either turnpike stair from the courtyard, without traversing through the dining room.Accessed from the lobby to the east, the gallery could have been regarded as another room in the Countess' bedchamber suite.

The inventory gives the subjects and prices of thirty pictures in the gallery. There werealso five family portraits, two of which survive at Dunrobin Castle. More than half of the other paintings were of female allegorical subjects, although their exact iconography is unclear. Two were sibyls, as other unidentified female heads may have been. A woman plaiting her hair was surely a *Vanity*. Other paintings suggest female virtue by depicting its loss or absence – a mother beating her daughter, a courtesan, a woman prostituted by a fool. Pictures of Troy may have recalled Plutarch's story of its virtuous women who burned their boats when they made landfall near Rome. The three representations of Lucretia have already been noted for their relationship to the couch, together constructing a new narrative of virtuous

furnishing. The low purchase prices in the inventory, show that these were mostly small cabinet paintings, readily obtainable copies of famous works, and not created by commission.

However, these paintings were not simply wall-paper in emulation of Whitehall collectors. Lady Home created this collection by choice. She would have self-identified with these allegories and appropriated these images to herself. The imagery of the plasterwork, tapestries and collection at Hardwick Hall accumulated by Bess of Hardwick is similarly interpreted by its inclusion of the subjects of famous women to project a legitimising image of the independent and powerful widow.[35] Lady Home gave a prominent place to pictures of Charity and paintings and statues of Lucretia and the numerous pictures of female subjects noted in various lists and inventories were presumably also positive female allegorical figures.

The dining room, like the drawing room was well provided with lighting, with thirteen great 'candillis' brought from Aldersgate. There was a great leather armed chair, presumably for the Countess, eight chairs and six stools, to be placed around a round and a square table, with a 'bairns' board and two chairs for Lady Moray's two children. The chairs were covered with red leather and green loose covers with gilt leather edging, matching the table covers. The cupboard was made of walnut. Unlike the inventories of many English dining rooms or great chambers, nothing suggests any other use for the room than dining.

Pictures included the *Five Senses* over the fireplace and *Twelve Sibyls* ranged round the room. Allegories of the *Senses* linked the faculties to virtues of moderation and restraint which could be demonstrated while dining. The *Senses* were a common subject and can be found on painted panels which decorated a gallery at the Dean House in Edinburgh are now displayed in the National Museum of Scotland. The *Sibyls* could complement the *Senses* by their reference to internal wit and second-sense. They were associated with chastity or female virtue but primarily with their prophecy of the nativity. Thomas Browne said the subject was 'very common' in his day; the Earl of Northampton had a set of eight Sibyls in the long

[35] S. French, 'A widow building in Elizabethan England', in A. Levy ed., *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2003), 162-176.

gallery of his London House.[36] Again there are other Scottish examples including the ceiling of a merchant's hall in Burntisland and a set at Aberdeen possibly painted by George Jamesoun. A screen from Wester Livilands, Stirlingshire, dated '1629' is decorated with Sibyls. The same visual source was used on a set of contemporary trenchers, suggesting a link with dining.[37]

9:2.2 Visiting the vault rooms

The Marble, Outer, and Long Vault rooms were on the ground floor, and seem to have been garden rooms on the garden side of the quadrangle to the south. In 1657 one of the rooms was mentioned as the 'laich vault' in a glazing account.[38]In 1683 the Long Vaultwas 'the low roome nixt the gardeine' and contained lead pots and six statues.[39] The three rooms at Moray House appear to have formed an independent suite. The outer vault seems to have been a central lobby giving access to the other vault rooms. This was an antechamber for the two rooms, an outward room like that mentioned by Lady Halkett, for rooms probably used for banqueting.

Reception had traditionally begun by entry to the first floor hall, but a small number of Scottish houses had reception rooms on the ground floor in this period including the Binns (1622), Auchterhouse (1633), and Liberton (by 1640). The largest ground floor reception room in these houses might be called a 'laich hall' but was not necessarily a subordinate reception room, as is shown by surviving decoration, and a sixteenth-century inventory of a house of the Earl of Morton includes a laich hall with high table and cupboard.[40] The rooms at Moray House can be compared with Parisian garden rooms, perhaps as a modest souvenir of a suite at the Hôtel de Lesdiguières (Hôtel Zamet) constructed c.1605, which comprised *salle*, *petit salle*, and *petit cabinet*.[41]

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[36] E. Shirley, 'Effects of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, *Archaeologia*, vol. 42, Issue 02 (January 1870), pp 347-378, 357: C. Sayle ed., *Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh 1927), 234.

[37] Bath, *Renaissance Painting*, 16, 22, 190-8, 201-4, 271.

[38] NRAS box 5 no. 586, Glazing account for Moray House, 1657.

[39] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 558, Moray House inventory of 1683.

[40] McKean, *Scottish Chateau*, 197-9: NRS GD150/2714 (a)

[41] Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter à Paris*, 345-7: R. Coope, 'John Thorpe and the hôtel Zamet in Paris', *The Burlington Magazine*, cxxv, no. 965, (Nov. 1982), pp.671-681, 678.

The outer vault room was furnished only with paintings, and was probably the entrance and antechamber for the other two rooms, the paintings serving as a taster of the delights within, in the French manner.[42] These were a *Cleopatra* bought for 30s, a picture of a country man cost 10s-6d., and eleven small pictures that were bought at Sir Everard Digby's 'prys' (apprising) which cost 6s each. The subjects of Digby's pictures are unknown, and they may have been acquired to commemorate the gunpowder plot, since his role would have been to seize Princess Elizabeth from Sir John Harington's keeping. The *Cleopatra* was intended to promote the image of feminine virtueby the depicting its abject opposite, the repentant figure presented by Samuel Daniel in his *Tragedie of Cleopatra* (1594). Cleopatra wasassociated with banqueting by the reports of her over-luxurious banquets with Anthony in Plutarch's *Lives*and Lucan's *Pharsalia* and so the picture served as a kind of wry admonition and apt choice for the threshold of a suite of banqueting rooms.

The Marble Vault was furnished in black and gold, with a black marble table and a couch.[43]The couch had a wainscot head, and 'quilts' upholstered with black cloth and gilt leather. The long vault had a white marble table and green leather furnishings. These rooms echo the furnishing of the two balcony rooms which were also black and green. Green fabrics picked up the predominant colour of the Home arms. The marble vault could have beennamed for its black marble table which had cost £12 sterling, or might refer to the sculptures found in the suite. The price of the table is comparable with marble tables listed in the Commonwealth sale inventories at £10 which came from banqueting rooms at Denmark House and Wimbledon.[44] There were four painted and gilded Italian-style chairs which suggest with the table that this was a banqueting room. In the next decade some of the chairs and a marble table were taken to Donibristle house and installed in a room with a chequered marble floor, which also appears to have been for banqueting. That room was called the butyard (backyard) house, suggesting a position isolated from the main house.

Here the couch lent an air of opulence and grandeur to the space, a signature perhaps of Lady Home's furnishing and estate. There were maps of England and Scotland on the wall. Paintings included a *Charity*, a subject found three times in the inventories, which

[42] Courtin, *L'Art d'Habiter à Paris*, 73-4.

[43] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 6, Moray house, 'Marbill vault', fol. 22.

[44] Jervis, 'Furniture in the Commonwealth inventories', 288.

represented sustenance and well-being,like that provided by the banquet with sweetmeats which Lady Home may have made herself. A picture of Dutch skaters – ‘ane duche pickter where they are slyding upone iyss’, sounds like the work of the contemporary artist Hendrick Avercamp. Thiswinter scene may have been appropriate decoration for a summer room. Other pictures are harderto connect with a banqueting or summer room theme; there was a*Peter in Prison* and a ‘great picture of the woman leading peacocks’ which at £2 was one of the more expensive paintings and was probably a representation of Juno and her chariot drawn by peacocks.[45] Peacocks taken as symbols of vanity and pride may have been in sympathy with the *Cleopatra* in the lobby.

In the Long Vaulta number of sculptures were displayed and six statues remained in 1683.[46]The seating was similar tothe drawing chambers, with awalnut couch with green leather cushions and cover. Three high chairs and three low chairs were covered with green leather. The room was described obscurely as ‘q[uhai]r the turning cheir is’, perhaps another name for the couch, as if there was something distinctive about this couch, although chairs with pivoted seats were not unknown.[47]The sculptures or reliefs were described as ‘pickters’ or ‘pickters in stone’ including a fowl, a woman holding flowers in her lap, a woman’s face painted like brass, a bag piper, two dogs, and a ‘lame’ (terracotta) apostle. Abronze figure taking a thorn out of its foot would have beena version of the classical*Spinario*. This and the bronze *Hercules* (bought in 1639), and the bronze bust of the king ‘be ane French man’ were perhaps by or followed the work of Hubert le Sueur, who made a *Spinario*and a *Hercules*for Charles I and who may also have made the *Mercury* for Donibristle (bought in 1639). His*Spinario*and *Mercury* were intended for Henrietta Maria’s garden at Somerset House.[48]Sculptures in other rooms included various pictures in brass, and in the gallery ablack Lucretia that may have been a bronze, and the bronze plate and the St George made by Francesco Fanelli brought from Aldersgate.

[45] Also listed in NRAS 217 box 5 no. 469, as ‘the picture of tuo angells takeing Peter out of prison in ane black ibony frame’.

[46] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 558, inventory of 1683.

[47] E. Bonnaffé, *Inventaire des Meubles de Catherine de Médicis en 1589* (Paris, 1874), 64.

[48]F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900* (Yale 1981), 308: C. Avery, ‘Hubert Le Sueur, The 'Unworthy Praxiteles' of King Charles I’, 151.

The end wall of the long vault was covered with a great map of world. This is reminiscent of a large map of the world recorded in the lower gallery at Petworth in 1633.[49] Why maps were displayed in these vault rooms or in Petworth's lower gallery is unknown. The idea of garden room with sculptures was not new. Lord Arundel had a sculpture gallery at his house on the Strand on the ground floor, and other collectors in preceding decades had placed antiquities in the garden near the house or in summerhouses, creating 'museum gardens' which connected with the garden rooms of the house.[50] Lady Home seems to have done the same with her vault rooms. In terms of seating the marble vault seems a banqueting house, the long vault a drawing chamber.

The location, furnishings, the use of marble tables and Italianate chairs, and the ground floor location suggest that these were summer rooms. Simon Jervis found in the Commonwealth sales inventories evidence of Italianate style of furnishing for summer rooms, banqueting rooms and galleries, particularly at Henrietta Maria's houses like Oatlands and Somerset 'a style which must have appealed to virtuosi, which went well with antique sculpture, and which of course reflected another aspect of Inigo Jones'.[51]There can be little doubt that the vault rooms at Moray House were furnished with objects that accessorised the style identified by Jervis, though any close relationship between the architectural framework and Jones' work seems unlikely. The conception of these vault rooms however might reflect distant Italianate models, elements from the planning of Italian palazzi, which included ground floor summer rooms. The galleries of Roman Cardinals were also furnished with day beds, but that Lady Home thought of her couches as a component of an Italianate interioris doubtful.[52]

9:2.3 Balcony rooms

These rooms survive and are usually interpreted as Lady Home's reception rooms. Her heraldry and monogram, now illegible, were carved on the pediments of the north and south

[49] Batho, *Household Papers of Henry Percy, 9th earl of Northumberland*, 177.

[50] Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, 112-3, 129: L. W. Hepple, 'The Museum in the Garden': Displaying Classical Antiquities in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', *Garden History*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Winter, 2001), pp. 109-120, 117: J. Husselby and P. Henderson, 'Location, Location, Location! Cecil House in the Strand'*Architectural History*, vol. 45, (2002), pp. 159-193, 179.

[51] Jervis, 'Furniture in the Commonwealth Inventories', 300.

[52] P. Waddy, 'Architecture for Display', in G. Feigenbaum ed., *Display of Art in the Roman Palace, 1550-1750*, (Los Angeles, 2014), 32, 35.

windows.[53] The layout of the inventory suggests the rooms were completed after the first text was written in 1631, perhaps around 1635. Their contents were inserted in the blank centre pages of the inventory booklet, and the rooms described as ‘new’. The furnishings were first listed as stored in a trunk, noted as the gallery furniture from Dunglass. The balconies, of which the north street balcony survives, were probably inspired by London examples, many houses in the new development at Covent Garden had balconies, which were featured incontemporary plays, (fig. 9:6).[54]

[53] *Inventory of Monuments in Edinburgh*, 177.

[54] A. Zucker, ‘Laborless London: Comic Form and the Space of the Town in Caroline Covent Garden’ *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Fall - Winter, 2005), pp. 94-119.

Fig. 9:6 Moray House, exterior of North Balcony Room, (RCAHMS)

The southern garden balcony room connected with the women's bedchambers on the southby a passage called the gallery by Lady Ann's chamber. The northern balcony room connected to the dining-room. The compiler of the inventory described them only as 'balcony rooms'. Both were furnished like drawing-chambers, and neither has the character of an antechamber. Both are accessed from the landing of an external stair and their purpose was for receiving visitors to Lady Home or her daughters. Although they could have functioned as inner and outer room to each other, the furnishing suggests two different functions, and two different kinds of visits by different groups of guests.

The balcony room next to the street was the larger. The fire irons were made of brass, the bellows were black and gilded – more luxurious than thosein the adjacent dining room. Other furnishings were mostly black and gilded, with some yellow fabric. Lighting was provided by two 'frames' to set candles on, which were black and gilt, perhaps shelves on the wall rather than sconces. The main feature was a couch painted black and gold with a canopy with long curtains of black and yellow taffeta. Unlike other textiles, these colours do not fit the Harington knot in black and silver, or Dudley, green and gold. This use of black, with gold and yellow (its textile substitute) was the usual furniture of mourning. This was the custom in royal palaces: in 1625 the state rooms at Holyroodhouse had been hung with black cloth with gold trim, and painted black to mourn James VI.[55]Here Lady Home mourned her husband and son, a combination of circumstances which also led to her financial freedom and status, which she expressed in building and by her furnishings.

An alternative best seat to the couch was a 'hy cheir of blak wrought velvet maid in the Italliane fashione laid with gold lais and gold buttones packit up in cace of hardin', which was still packed up in 'harden' canvas used to protect furniture shipped from London. When Lady Home used this chair during visits the unused couch might represent sickness and death, as if it were her son's or husband's tomb. In contemporary discourse the couch was thus identified as the 'crazie couch' a poetic term for the sickbed, bier, catafalque or

[55]*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, *1625-1627*, 2nd series (1899), 11: *Balfour's Annals*, vol 2, 116: *Accounts of the Masters of Works*, vol.2, 165, 203.

grave.[56]Here she self-identified as a widow and grieving mother. A standing figure, a dummy board portrait of a woman playing a lute may have contributed to the scene. Much lute music addressed mourning and grief, and this mute figure may have appropriate to mourning. This sombre room was furnished for a dowager countess who remained a wealthy and powerful landowner, although the earldom of Home had passed to James Home of Coldenknowes. Her estate was estimated at £30,000 sterling.[57] Such a display of mourning added to her gravitas and identity as a powerful and independent woman. Despite the drawing-room like scale and opulent furnishing, for some visits this room may have often served as an antechamber to the adjacent dining room. But the plan seems flexible. Dinner guests could come directly to the dining room and Lady Home's party could join from the balcony room. After meals this great opulent and sombre drawing chamber could on occasion be a room withdrawing from the dining room, an alternative to the central drawing chamber.

In contrast the south balcony room was furnished with bright green and white upholstery. The couch chair had a canopy with green and white feathers in silver knobs, and head piece, four high stools, a high chair, a low chair, a low stool and a foot stool, all upholstered with green and white tufted taffeta. There was a matching screen (and probably a close stool). This grand furniture in the Home colours had been made for the gallery at Dunglass Castle, perhaps to impress visitors in the royal train in 1633. The only published letter of Lady Home is concerned with the Home name. She wrote to George Home of Wedderburn in February 1633, after the death of her son, that Wedderburn's house has 'evir been the most honourable and most worthie of any that evir com of that ancient raice'.[58] The letter shows her understanding of the solidarity of family in Scottish terms. The furnishing represents her and her daughters as Homes. Yet this room does not seem to be conceived for an intimidating heraldic display. There were dummy board portraits of the family: 'standing pictures' of 'my two daughters' – Lady Doune and Lady Maitland, with two of lady Moray's children, andthe dwarf servant Meg Candie. The real children might have been shown to visitors in this room. The room could have been intended as a reception room for the daughters' use, as a drawing-chamber appointed for visiting the family. Primarily, this was Lady Doune's reception room.

[56] R. Braithwait, *English Gentleman* (London, 1633), 332.

[57] NLS MS.14547.

[58] *HMC Milne Home*, 98.

A door led to a passage leading past Lady Ann's room to Lady Doune's bedchamber and nursery. Lady Ann, as we saw in Chapter Seven, played the virginals in that passage.

The furnishings also give anindication of another purpose. The mantelpiece had yet another painting of the *Roman Charity* – 'ane womane giffing suck to ane mane'– a subject also seen in the cabinet and vault rooms. An unusual feature of this room was a number of glass vessels placed on shelves described as 'two great gilded frames to stand by the wall to hold glass on'.[59] These included green, blue, and plain vials, a glass chamber pot, a glass pottinger, a china glass, a glass lamp, a white glass in the form of a woman, and a little mother of pearl basin. While some of these glasses may have been decorative, vial glasses were listedwith distillation equipment and sweetmeat glasses at Floors in 1624, 1635 and 1642.[60] Perhaps some visitors who came to this room were offered home-made cordials or remedies: they would certainly recognise the medicinal role of this glassware. If remedies were made on any scale, from the produce of the Moray House garden and the garden at Floors, it is probable they were offered to friends, perhaps here in this room overlooking the garden. This room connected this domestic production with the public world and the family, and as in the cabinets, the painting*Roman Charity* was a token of the activity.

The display of glass vessels would advertise to visitors the medical knowledge of the Countess. Signalling this expertise would reflect positively on the family, advertising their capability, encouraging friendship and alliance. Visitors to the green room were intended to appreciate the blooming health of Lady Home, her daughters, and the Moray grandchildren and understand that it was maintained and achieved by skill and art. At the same time ill-health itself was to be concealed, and there is evidence of this convention in the letters of Grace Fane, Countess of Home and her mother Mary, Countess of Westmorland. Grace was sickly after smallpox and a miscarriage, and had hair-loss illness and hair loss perhaps caused by a course of physic. Grace secluded herself at Dunglass castle and asked for a lace bonnet to conceal her hair. These matters were concealed in her mother's letters by the use of a simple cipher which would defeat a casual reader.[61]Grace was advised to make a face cream

[59] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5, fol. 31r., 'tuo gryt geildit frames to stand be the wall to hold glass one'.

[60] NRAS 217 box 5, nos 9-12.

[61] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 296, Apethorpe, 26 June 1630.

to relieve nasal inflammation, and take baths in milky water.[62]Grace Fane did not long survive the death of her husband in 1633. Lady Home countered illness and early death in the family by showcasing her prowess in physic.

The north balcony room was the realm of the business and formal persona of the dowager countess. It led into the dining room and eventually via drawing room gallery and east lobby to her bedchamber suite. This sequence was the nearest to a formal apartment in the house, though it might not have been used in such a manner.The daughters' rooms could be reached from the garden balcony room. In the gardenbalcony room a family atmosphere was invoked by the standing or dummy board portraits. The mantle-piece *Charity*, and the medicinal equipment show that this room was a threshold between the recreational activities of gardening and distillation, and the sharing of the results of those labours. Some remedies may have been intended to salve the physical aspects of the grief displayed with such splendour in the adjacent chamber.[63] While some products at the intersection of sweetmeat and physic could have been suitable offerings on social occasions, the display of vessels and themes of pictures, and the view of the garden projected the image of a healthy family living a healthy life, an image beneficial to a mother seeking husbands for her daughters.

9:2.4 Visiting in Lady Home's bedchamber suite

The inventory gives a picture of a house designed and furnished according to the needs of Lady Home. It does not seem that Lady Home's two daughters, though adult, one married when the inventory was first written, were intended to receive visitors in their bedchambers at Edinburgh. Lady Doune had a bedchamber and a nursery, Lady Anne, an unmarried eighteen year old, had only a bedchamber with a second bed for a servant. Her chamber had only two chairs and a wooden stool. As noted, her presence was perhaps heard rather seen in the passage outside her bedchamber where she played the virginals. The passage linked to the south balcony room. Probably the daughter's social identities were performed in the green balcony room – where their continual presence was represented by the dummy board portraits.

[62] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 302, Apethorp, 28 April 1630.

[63] S. Pender, 'Rhetoric, grief, and the imagination in early modern England', *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 43 (1), (2010), pp. 54-85.

In contrast, all the rooms in Lady Home's bedchamber suite containedequipment used for social activities. The suite in the east wing could be accessed from the gallery or by a stair in the east re-entrant angle of the tight courtyard. This stair (according to the Sime plan) led to a small lobby with doors to the gallery, the 'drawing chamber with a chequered floor' and the bed chamber.[64]The lobby was not listed in the inventory. The galleryoffered a variety of leisure activities and could have served as an antechamber and adjunct to this bed suite, as discussed above.

The inventory noted the paintings above the door between Lady Home's bedchamber and the lobby and between the drawing chamber and lobby. The pictures may have marked the doors as a threshold of gender: above the door in the drawing chamber towards the bedchamber there was a painting of a woman, on the other side in the bedroom there was a shepherd and shepherdess. Like the drawing chamber in the gallery suite the chequered room had fire-irons with brass tips, and the furnishing of thisdrawing room was only slightly different in character.

There were five chairs, one with arms, two high and two low, fewer seats than in the other drawing chamber next to the dining chamber. All had covers of *pintado* matching the wall hangings. The use of newly fashionable Indian painted or printed cotton*pintado*, a less hard-wearing material rather than heavy silks, suggests that this was a smart room. The fabric was also used in Lady Home's cabinet.Indeed, the use of the same fabric helps to locate this drawing room as part of the bedchamber suite. A cupboard lined with ivory bought for the room for £6 sterling in London on 15 July 1638 was perhaps a cabinet placed on a table top, and may have been a sweetmeat cupboard. Two pictures had been bought from 'Giltropis' – George Geldorp, a follower of Antony van Dyck and picture dealer for 28s each. Geldorp may have supplied copies of portraits by Van Dyck. Later additions brought from Aldersgate after the Countess' death included a pair of French virginals and a portrait of Ben Jonson.

In the bedchamber a black and white painted bed with black and white hangings had a Harington provenance, matching the family heraldry of the silver knot on a sable field. There was a black and white screen, and black and white chairs, with one extra black and white chair brought from another set at Floors. Lady Home left this black furniture to her mother,

[64] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5, fol.11, 'A note of the things that is in the drawing chalmer with the chakerat fluire'

Theodosia Harington.[65] Her fondness for this heirloom suite was demonstrated by three additions made to the set. A small round table had a cover made from a black and white dress of Lady Ann's. Another table cover was made from the same fabrics as the Floors upholstery. A note adds that when this furniture was taken to London it was replaced in Edinburgh with four new high and low chairs bought in London covered with green carsay. The new green chairs were covered with black and white loose covers to continue the Harington theme.[66]

There were two cabinets, boxes, a standish – a writing box, and a trunk, storage perhaps for paperwork. There was a secondary folding bed. A 'frame to set a book on' may have been a table lectern. None of this bedchamber equipment is unusual, and is compatible with the generalised account of bedchamber furniture by Peter Thornton.[67] However, additional furnishing for the chamber bought in 1633 and 1635 includes more unconventional items, including equipment for private meals perhaps to be served on a new French style folding table.

Lady Home, her daughters and friends prepared food or snacks in this room (with the assistance of servants) distinct from the regular meals provided by the kitchen. In 1636 a 'spit' for roasting oysters was bought for the room. A butter tub and a spice boxwere kept in a wall-press called the 'green shelf cabinet'. Another space called the 'inner cabinet' contained a pair of wafer-irons for pressing and heating waffles and the inevitable pestle and mortar. There was also a pan to heat rose water to perfume the room. The Donibristle inventory notes the 'sweetbags' used by Lady Home to perfume her bedchamber, one to place in a bed and another to hang on the wall:

> Item ane yellow floured satine sweit bage done withe reid reibans and lasit with gold and selver bone lasse
> Item 2 swetbags of gold and selver strypt stuffe, one to put against the wall laid with gold and silver lase and lined with watchit [sky blue] taffitie and watchit ribines at

[65] NLS MS. Acc. 14547, fol. 10-14: TNA PROB 11/272/611.

[66] NRAS 217 box 5 no.5, fol.12.

[67] Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 293-6.

> them edgit with gold and silver edgine, and the wther to ly upon a bed lynd with incarnatioun taffitie and carnation ribbins at it edgeit with gold and silver edgine.[68]

In 1635a cupboard was bought to keep the chamber-plate in this room (in distinction to 'house plate') which included a silver skillet, a pestle and mortar, a sugar box and a server and chaffing dish, items used for preparing and eating food.It could be argued that the silver was stored in the bedchamber space for reasons of security, but these items do not represent the house-plate used at dinner times, which was not listed in these inventories. Items for food preparation show that some meals or snacks were prepared in bedchamber spaces rather than in the kitchen. Waffles were associated with sweetmeats in Gervase Markham's writings, and sweetmeat dishes are found in bedchamber cabinets in other inventories. The evidence indicates that guests who reached Lady Home's bedchamber suite might enjoy sweetmeat banquets, banquets that were prepared close at hand. Guests could have joined in these preparations.

The bedchamber cabinet was furnished with the same Indian *pintado* calico as the drawing chamber with chequered floor across the lobby. In the inventory of 1683 the room was described as the closet that looks to the garden. The quality of the fire irons in 1631 which had silver handles shows this was the smartest room in the house. Perhaps here in the absence of servants Lady Home would use the fire irons. The furnishings of this closet or cabinet were similar to those summarised by Peter Thornton, although most of his sources were from the later seventeenth century.[69] There were forty-two books kept in a glass fronted ebony cabinet on a walnut frame. The books may have been those listed in a Donibristle inventory. The contents of the closet and its pictures were described in Chapter Five, and the equipment for physic and scientific activities demonstrated to visitors described in Chapter Seven. The 'weather glass' was not portable, and its presence suggests that it and other scientific objects were shown and demonstrated to guests in this room.

9:3 Conclusion

The inventory of Moray House offers a possibly unique illustration of visiting in Edinburgh in the 1630s. The experience could not have typical; it seems unlikely that any other

[68] NRAS 217 box 5 no. 6, fol. 2v.

[69] Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 296-315.

aristocratic town house offered such a variety of receptions. Visits to the house would have been managed by the 'gentleman' servants – four were named in the 1631 inventory, who would conduct acceptable visitors to the correct turnpike stair.Rooms seem to have been used in clusters to accommodate visits by a variety of guests according to gender, status and family relationship. If the Earl of Home had lived and built a house in Edinburgh in 1630 would the plan have been similar? It seems more likely that the house would have been provided with a single point of entry with rooms grouped beyond a hall, and a man might have less use a variety of drawing rooms, not needing to self-represent in so many various ways. The town house built by Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (d. 1640) at Stirling has just such a grand entry into a 'laich hall' with stairs to a grand dining room above, from which the earl's bedchamber suite is accessed. Alexander had been a gentleman of Prince Henry's bedchamber,and master of requests in Scotland,in style his house is often compared to a Parisian *hôtel*. [70] Moray House had no such grand ground floor entrance.

Listed first in the inventory, the gallery at Moray House was a room with paintings but consideration of the site and early sketches shows it was not a long gallery extended in length suitable for promenading. Like other Scottish galleries it was a place where games might be played or banquets enjoyed on its marble table. Its furnishing with Italianate chairs and marble table would give an air of court sophistication. Three vault rooms on the ground floor formed a reception suite which does not seem to have connected with the upper floor. These rooms were conceived as summer rooms decorated with sculpture. This is a creative use of ground floor spaces previously in Scotland used only for storage or domestic offices, following models provided by English collectors which seem to derive from Italian practices.

The new street balcony room was accessed directly by a stair from the carriage entrance. This room was furnished in black, suitable for the dowager countess. This opulent black and gilt room was the expression of her public persona as a widow. The black furnished balcony reception room was paired with another balcony room looking south into the garden, accessed from the same stair. The room also contained 'standing pictures' – dummy board portraits of the family. The room would be used by visitors who wished to see Lady Home's daughters. Medicinal glassware was displayed on shelves. This room could be used for the

[70] Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 68, 143.

visits of friends who shared an interestin distillation and healing. Perhaps medicinal refreshments were offered, a forerunner of tea or chocolate, a possibility that the inventories cannot reveal.

Close reading of inventories, recognition of the objects, attributing their roles and agencies, and the possible social constructions they made, and comparison with other inventories and interpretations, leads to the proposed understanding of a social strategy – that Lady Home could present herself as both a formidable widow used to managing her legal business, and in the next room as the successful nurturing mother of a prospering family. These were novel methods of self-expression of familiar social positions. This presentation of identity cannot be identified in hall furnishings of the previous century.

This characterisation of reception rooms in Edinburgh can be compared with the analysis of the sixteenth-century hall offered in Chapter three. There, the trappings and accessories of hall, the high table, hangings, antler chandeliers, the cupboard and display of plate, and above the ritual of dressing the tables with linen and the serving of food, were identified and regarded as components of lordship, the diners as participants in a daily celebration of a social relation. The elements of this display are completely absent from Lady Home's inventories. While there was certainly a seat at the top of her dining table, and stools for her inferiors, these seventeenth-century interiors show nothing like the clear demarcation of the old hall – except in provision of couches with canopies, which as argued in Chapter Five, in this context were chairs of estate for women. However there is no reason to suppose that the assembly of equipment in the drawing chamber lacked a similar functionality to those of the hall certainly expressing ideas of rank and also equivalences status consonant with group privacies.

The furnishings of new reception rooms served different purposes to those of hall, but their mode of operation was similar. Drawing rooms constructed identity and social relations amongan elite, whereas hall entertainment demonstrated the relations of the elite to those of lower ranks. The requirement to demonstrate the ownership of wider social relations within the home diminished and there was a strong compulsion to make the new offer of entertainment in the restricted circle of a drawing room. Advice literature from the latter seventeenth-century deprecates open-handed hospitality to those who could not benefit the

host's reputation.[71]The dowager Lady Home had no Home following to maintain, since the earldom had passed out of her family, and so no need to continue the old manners in the hall. Wealthy, with two daughters to marry off, she was able to spend freely to increase her family's visibility in Edinburgh amongst aristocratic circles. She had much to gain from introducing a drawing room culture in Edinburgh. Providing a comfortable resort in town when many aristocrats did not maintain a lodging proved a successful strategy and made her a fashion leader.

[71] Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, 391-2.

Chapter 10 Conclusions

Historians recreate a domestic past in order to discuss and evaluate social changes. These may be changes in structures of society, in family life, or in gender roles.Art, architectural and furniture historians are interested in the same changes but are also preoccupied with the form and materiality of objects. This study has looked at the domestic interior as a space where social roles of elites were performed. Houses, rooms and entertainments therein were used to promote a family's political interestamongst peer groups and followers, relationships which changed dramatically in Scotland in this period. Inventories and artefacts offer rich insights into this domestic life, offering evidence of practices of display, entertainment, leisure, study and domestic production. Inventory detail of hall furnishings complements architectural evidence to show the primary importance of this space; records of rich beds evoke a forgotten hierarchy of display. New spaces in the seventeenth century were adapted for particular female modes of display and activities which are new or almost invisible in earlier records.

However, evidence for social activities offered by artefacts or inventories falls short of providing a full list of props for a theatrical recreationof the past, a performance lacking script and stage directions. Lists of goods were compiled for a variety of purposes, none of which were recording domestic life as lived for posterity, and the roles of objects and how people regarded them were not recorded.Scottish inventory sources do not lend themselves to statistical analyses and aggregation such as may be attempted with databases of English probate inventories.[1] Instead they can be combined with evidence from other sources, artefacts, records of purchases, letters and diaries.Inventories, artefacts and buildings can be interpreted with degrees of speculation with the aid of clues from letters, poems, and plays. Manuals of etiquette give an idea of rituals and deference. Plays, especially Caroline comedies, give ideas of domestic manners that may have been practised in Edinburgh by an aristocracy increasingly in touch with London manners. Incidents in literature often highlight solecisms inverting accepted practice, requiring imagination to reconstruct the conventions recognised by the audience. Insights from these sources can be combined to widen contexts of the reconstructed object in the home, object and artefact located in activity. The results are

[1] M. Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households 1600-1750.*

sets of narratives about objects and homes, tied to groups or individuals who might be excised in numerical analyses.[2]

Historical narratives can be constructed to understand what people did and what their actions or display of furnishings meant to them and to others.Underlying this is an assumption that decoration and display was purposively intended to reflect positively on the family. Here a wider generalised picture concerning the common elements of the great hall in Scotland in the sixteenth century has been developed, which contrasts with more individual narratives of what paintings of *Roman Charity* meant to these women in Edinburgh in the 1630s.However, it may be that the kind of entertaining and shared leisure that the painting seems to point to achieved similar social goals as the old style hall. In terms of interpretation, understanding how halls contributed to aristocratic goals in Scotland is useful in presenting buildings to the public; ideas about paintings like the *Roman Charity* help to understand the appeal and market among women for such pictures as survive today. Historical accounts of noble power in the regions that do not fit with architectural and archival evidence of buildings and entertainment must be suspect. An art history that appreciates patrons as consumers of iconography is enriched.

While inventories can help construct narratives about lives, homes and objects, they are much less useful in revealing the life cycle of objects, their re-use, and second-hand markets. Even though wills provide values for household goods, the actual operation of second-hand markets, sales and auctions is poorly documented in this period. Inventory descriptions of goods are economical and identification of type or origin andclose comparison with surviving artefacts is rarely possible.Surviving examples of early modern Scottish furniture are rare, except for chairs carved with heraldry or monograms that were long prized by families.Sixteenth-century inventories mention furniture of French or Flanders origin, seventeenth-century aristocratic accounts record London-made furniture, but most furniture must have been made in Scotland, for wills of Edinburgh wrights in the first half of the seventeenth century include beds, tables, and chairs.[3]In the second half of the century an anonymous wright in Perth drafted accounts for roofing, and for making and mending chairs

[2] C. Richardson, 'Written texts and the performance of materiality', in A. Gerritsen ed., *Writing Material Culture History*, (London 2015), 43-58.

[3] NRS CC8/8/51, p.113 Johne Watsoun: NRS CC8/8/55 p.533-5 Walter Denniestoun: 1645: NRS GD3/7/9, Jeremy Young.

and chests, including fixing London-made chairs, showing that furniture making could be combined with other joinery trades. Trimmings for upholstery were made in Perth in the 1630s.[4] Where detail on the appearance of furniture and artefacts is elusive inventories remain a useful source on the roles of these objects, contributing to a picture of room use and domestic activity.

Socialactivity served to reproduce societal values, reminding participants of social difference and wider loyalties, at best encouraging the formation of allegiances. Furnishings and architectural settings can be seen as a network in which people and objects participate. This agency of objectsis seen at the point ofanthropomorphism where courtiers took off their headgear in the presence of a royal cloth of estate or saluted a royal bed. In an aristocrat's hall the furnishings participated cumulatively in similar effects – even items that might otherwise seem unremarkable. Halls, meals, entertainments, furnishings, were intended to perpetuate gentle estate and noble hierarchy under the crown. Having a hall in Scotland enabled elites to form local alliances and followings. Many inventories were made and informed by this concern, giving priority to certain objects and the vivid picture these documents give of the hall in the sixteenth century was discussed in Chapter Three. The impression made in the great halls is perhaps not obscure today but there is no reason to suppose that the furnishings in differentrooms like bedchambers were not as effective, and worked on different audiences.

In the period examined by this thesis (1500-1650) domestic life in many houses changed radically. This involved the abandonment of great hall dining. No longer would a large household including servants dine together in the presence of their lord, or hospitality be offered there to a wide following or poor strangers. Instead new houses had one or two smaller dining rooms for the family and guests. Servants would dine in the lettermeat Hall, higher male servants in gentlemen's dining rooms. Old great halls were abandoned or converted to dining rooms, sometimes by subdivision. In new drawing chambers a different kind of etiquette was practised, a display intended only for those closer in rank to the owner. This was a change of great importance, because the hall had been the location where a lord or baron was seen by his local following, where their feudal, or rather regional, connections had

[4] NLS MS. 12989.

been maintained. In Scotland this change occurred later than the parallel development in England because the hall remained useful.

Scottish inventory evidence shows why the hall was valued. Halls were equipped with a readily recognisable set of furnishings organised in a space which unmistakably reinforced the social order. This equipment is one of the most striking features of sixteenth-century inventories, and so underlines how revolutionary the retreat from the hall was. The consistency of the evidence is in part due to a principle of the feudal law of inheritance, 'heirship goods' which prescribed a minimum of household equipment, the best of each type, to be reserved for the successor of a barony. Distinctive hall furnishings included the lighting often with antler chandeliers, tables, dais hangings, axes or polearms, which were the appropriate equipment of a baronial and higher rank. The single axe or pole-arm presumably represented the powers of a barony or franchise court devolved from the monarch.

These objects carried a straightforward message of social difference, emphasising the superiority of the lord or baron, and their possession defined an aristocrat. Authority was represented as springing from the monarch.The ivory 'Horn of Leys' still displayed at Crathes was supposed to have been given to the family by Robert the Bruce.[5] The hunting horn was evidence of long feudal tenure; displaying the horn was equivalent to showing a charter, to the holding of the land and being the holder of land.The horn represented the long established legitimacy when feudal tenure was in retreat; but so did the presence of the lowest seats at the side table, or architectural features like a larger window illuminating the dais end of the hall. Recognising the agency of objects in a networkundermines the identification of certain objects functioning only as symbols of power relationships, since that communicative role was not exclusively theirs, so dissolving an often unhelpful distinction between the symbolic andthe functional.

Evidence suggests that many seventeenth-century patrons were reluctant to abandon these halls and their system of equipment, an assemblywhich demonstrated and in many cases was clear evidence of ancient lineage, status and responsibility. As an example of conservatism or aspirational revivalism, at Craigievar a great hall with a carved oak screens passage was constructed in the first decades of the seventeenth century when the tower was remodelled by

[5] I. Gow, *Scotland's Lost Houses*, (Edinburgh 2006), 182.

new owners.[6]This conservative tendency can be contrasted with the furnishing strategy of Lady Home in the 1620s and 1630s. She had no need for a hall in her Edinburgh townhouse, she pursued her social interests among her peer group, the society of other aristocratic families, and not with the Home kin following. Nonetheless, within each of her drawing chambers and other reception rooms a strong sense of estate was provided by a couch with canopy and curtains standing on a carpet. This seat provided a focus in each of these rooms approaching the impact of the arrangement of the dais in a great hall. Lady Home's hospitality was only offered to smaller groups of visitors, perhaps mostly to women of similar rank, and decorative ensembles which allude to family and nourishment suggest that her drawing rooms were intended primarily for female company.

The decline in commensality was a European phenomenon, already evident in Scotland where inventories show the presence of dining in the chamber of dais, a room adjacent to many (but not all) Scottish halls. This withdrawal of presence can be related to developments in the relationship between aristocracies and monarchs, where the importance of local followings and land were replaced by attendance at court as the only route to royal patronage. The full abandonment of hall-dining is apparent in some houses by the 1640s. The 1648 inventory of Huntly Castle describes the plain furnishing of the hall in the palace block at Huntly Castle, as the 'laich Common Hall', which lacked a high table and was probably now appointed for servant's use. The Marquess of Huntly had an intimate dining room and a 'polite' reception room called the 'organ hall' on the floor above. The organ hall had become a kind of gallery in the sense that that it was a room of reception and leisure. Huntly's new domestic arrangements should be related to a contemporary opinion on the effects of his manner. Patrick Gordon of Ruthven attributed Huntly's eventual political failure to the 'Inglish divil of keeping state', describing a form of English reserve and deportment that Huntly had acquired in London. Changes in room use and furnishings at Huntly Castle and the abandonment of commensality there were aspects of the 'Inglish divil' to which Ruthven attributed his fall.[7]

While many other causes could be proposed for Huntly's failure to gather support in crisis, including his personality, or resistance and organisation in the subordinate group against his

[6] Thompson, *Medieval Hall*: Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*: Howard, *Scottish Architecture*, 79.

[7] P. Gordon, *A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper*, 76-7, 107, 229-30.

cause, if indeed there was any such failing, Ruthven's comment is rooted in reaction and nostalgia for vanished certainties of sixteenth-century society. In his view English influence on manners following the union of the crowns had destabilised aristocratic relations. Cause and effect here are entangled – since social relations may have shifted and manners changed in response, but undoubtedly there were strong English influences on aristocracy after the union of the crowns. Ruthven identified changes in manners as another unresolvable problem which contributed to the war of the three kingdoms; he believed that Scottish society was best managed by the old ways. His observation has value for the conscious recognition that manners have this power, manners exercised within the environments constructed by architecture and furnishing.

Lady Home used her inventories to curate her possessions and houses, noting purchases and changes over two decades. These unusual inventories contrast with and illuminate other records. The patron was female,widowed, English, rich, she frequently bought goods in London, practised physic, had ornaments, paintings, sculptures and scientific instruments. In her houses Lady Home had numerous reception rooms and garden parlours. As far the present author is aware nothing like this can be seen in any other Scottish inventory before 1650, excepting the documented enthusiasm of the Marquess of Lothian for pictures in the 1640s.[8]The detail encourages reflection on what is not recorded in other inventories, how much is novel and idiosyncratic about Lady Home's domestic life, and what activities may have already been commonplace.

The details of her cabinet and closets allowsome reconstruction of domestic recreation and leisure. Other inventories, made after decease for inheritance, usually give a more static picture, and male or female agency is almost always absolutely invisible. In Chapter Two, records of purchasing were examinedin this light. Earlier records of purchasing furnishings are thin on the ground and while it is probable that aristocratic women played a major part examples are elusive. The archival record may also be opaque where husbands were billed for their wife's commissions.Evidence of personal agency and individuality is missing from most inventories. Where variation is lacking, possessions and attitudes can be aggregated or stereotyped into broader generalisations. Objects, architectural planning, and daily ritual

[8] F. Insh, 'An Aspirational Era? Examining and Defining Scottish Visual Culture 1620-1707', University of Aberdeen, PhD (2014), 156-9.

seem to express, serve and actuate social roles, attributable to the whole noble class. Daily performance in these ordered households enacted hierarchic roles, confirming consensus and enforcing social cohesion. Although these elements were present they are not the full story of household life. The variety of interests seen in Lady Home's account of herself in her inventories cannot represent a complete disjunction with previous lives, and it is unlikely that Lady Home's strategies of self-representation in the home differed greatly from her peers or forebears in Scotland and England.Pictures and equipment represent the aspects of domesticity with which she identified. The interest in physic, a preoccupation with health and hygiene was a strong theme in domestic and garden architecture, perhaps not always recognised by architectural historians or credited to female agency. Similar preoccupations not accessorized with paintings might not leave an inventory record.

Drawing chambers and other reception rooms proliferate in Lady Home's inventories. Such rooms are rare in contemporary and unknown in earlier inventories, though similar spaces were noted at Caerlaverock, Hamilton Palace and Glamis Castle. Some but not all of these rooms lay between a more public space and a bedchamber. They allowed a select or elite group to withdraw from a larger company in hall and gallery. It is hardly credible that such a need was not met in sixteenth-century Scottish houses. Clearly, this kind of intimate private socialising had taken place in bedchambers, the only other type of room found in non-royal houses.

Inventories show that the chamber of dais, the chamber behind the dais in the hall where the lord sat, was invariably a bedchamber in this period. Nevertheless, it accommodated some of the functions of the great chamber or parlour (terms rarely used in Scots). As a bedchamber, it was understood to be reserved for a feudal superior, who was often the monarch, and this was another way that the hall constructed societal values. In many cases it appears to have been used as the lord's bedchamber. Gomme and Maguire described the room as the lord's formal parlour, following English analogies.[9] Inventory evidence supports this view with these bedchambers often having seating and furniture for dining. Not all chambers of dais have these furnishings, and dining in the chamber seems an innovation of the later sixteenth century. These chambers of dais, which were both bed drawing and dining room, give a parallel to the English great chamber, adding depth to discussions of the Scottish 'apartment'.

[9] Gomme and Maguire, *Design and Plan*, 296 n.106.

Sixteenth-century inventories which reveal this multiple use in the chamber of dais may indicate the fashionable and great, who first adopted new manners, including Sir John Sandilands at Calder, Regent Lennox at Inchinnan, and the Earl of Angus at Tantallon Castle.

As we have seen, Lady Home's inventories show how she represented herself as a widow, a member of the Home and Harington families, a practitioner of physic, and a familiar of court circles. It is difficult to find similar evidence in earlier inventories, records which fail to reveal anything of the individuality of owners. Variations in quality and quantity may reveal something of relative status but little of personality. In contrast other kinds of records sometimes show startling investment in material culture. Detailed bequests in latter wills can be a revealing source for attitudes towards possessions: male and female wills bequest best and second best stands of clothes. Beds and jewellery are often invested with sentiment. Attempts were made to make jewels and beds inalienable heirlooms.[10] Some of these beds would have been appropriate family heirlooms because their hangings were embroidered with family arms, their fabric colours predominately matching heraldry, and exposed woodwork carved with mottoes and ciphers. Jewels could be associated with family heroes or treasured as royal gifts, thoughLena Orlin has argued that emotional investment in some kinds of keepsake jewellery or remembrances, particularly those to be commissioned after a death, for giver and receiver may not have been so high.[11] But levels of emotional investment could be still high in materials of lesser intrinsic value; some wills mention cloth woven from the wool of their own estates, evidence of pride in this production.[12]

Scottish inventoriesgive little evidence of possessions forming any kindof collection for their own sake before the 1630s, with the exception of collections of books. Individual expression through objectsis not apparent. Objects of purely decorative or ornamental use apart from hangings are extremely hard to spot, outside of the context of hall cupboard display, which was common to the whole class. A recognisable 'garniture' of decorative objects appears in the inventory of an Antwerp weaver based in Perth in the 1630s and is a kind of hall display, a group of porcelain cups and plates displayed on the 'almerie' that contained table linen.This could be a modest successor of the prized Venetian glass cupboards noted in the 1540s and

[10] NLS MS. ch. 4031, will of the countess of Mar.

[11] L. Orlin, 'Empty Vessels', in T. Hamling ed., *Everyday Objects* (Farnham, 2010), 301-3.

[12] See Chapter Three.

1550s, but might represent something new.[13]Personal forms of expression related to books and learning appearin the painted ceilings of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century most recently described by Michael Bath.[14] The painting of the hall at Prestongrange (1581) and the gallery at Pinkie House (c.1610) reveal an interest in classicaland comic literature and stoic philosophy. These kinds of interests and their expression would not be apparent in inventories of the furnishings of these rooms. Though emblems, apothegms and classical tags had wide currency, most visitors given time to examine this decoration would have found it puzzling, and this was surely a desired effect to keep people guessing and in awe of intellectual achievement.

London furnishings permeated Scotland after the union of the crowns in 1603. Some aristocrats formed part of the royal entourage in London,adopting the prevalent material culture and joining in new habits of collecting Italian art, butthey did not bring these collections to Scotland.[15] Politicians like Edward Bruce, Lord Kinloss in the first decade of the century, and later the Earls of Morton, Nithsdale and Kinnoull bought London furniture for their London lodgings, which they brought back to Scotland. These furnishings were used in new rooms, drawing chambers, and other reception rooms that were infrequently found in houses of the previous century. These politicians were agents of cultural change, others would see these London bought furnishings and emulate them by ordering chairs and beds from London.

The vocabulary of seventeenth-century inventories shows the effect of London purchasing. Amongst many examples, the word ‘valance’ appears for the first time, the preferred English term for the bed component, whereas Scots had used the French-derived term, ‘pand’. London furnishings were influenced by French style, and new beds were described as French beds. Scottish clients also bought pieces from Paris. French and walnut furniture had been imported into Scotland in the previous century and French-made furniture probably had more cachet than English furniture in the first decades of the seventeenth century. This taste for foreign-made furnishing English or French could not have helped local makers. However,

[13] NRS GD172/2052.

[14] M. Bath, *Renaissance Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2003), 29-77

[15] Marshall, ‘The Plenishings of Hamilton Palace in the Seventeenth Century’, 13-22.

local manufacture of furniture types that were fully upholstered probably continued, and specialist upholstery trades like passmenterie makers continued to be successful.

James hoped to foster a full political union by the intermarriage of English and Scottish aristocrats. The thesis has examined inventories made by Mary, dowager Countess of Home, a well-connected English aristocrat who was married to Alexander, 1st Earl of Home in 1605. Her furnishings were comparable with the court and connoisseur tastes, reflecting the taste (arguably at some distance) of court favourites who were collectors of art and antiquities. Lady Home may be exceptional, as a pioneer of court styles and Anglo-Scottish marriage. She set up home in Scotland and maintained houses in London, continuing to build and refurbish during two decades of widowhood. This was part of her example for the nation as described by Hume of Godscroft.[16] Evidence of its success may be elusive, with an absence of comparably detailed contemporaryinventories. Other aristocrats, especially those connected to the Duke of Buckingham like Maxwell and Morton, bought furnishings similar to those used at court, but it would be hard to prove that similar furnishings as yet undetected emulated Lady Home's collection, rather than also drawing on the same London examples. Court style in London was renewed at the end of the Commonwealth, and after more than a decade was revitalised by the years spent by courtiers in exile in France and Holland. The style of Lady Home houses in the late 1630s was perhaps one reach of what would become a cultural backwater, superseded by furnishing in revitalised architectural frameworks, as described recently by Charles Wemyss. Her interiors had immediate successors in the 1640s. Her son-in-law James Stuart 4th Earl of Moray employed London craftsman to panel, plaster, paint and pave the interiors of his buildings at Moray House at Donibristle. In this case new furnishings and interiors of the best rooms were created by English craftsmen, while the architectural envelope was built by Scottish masons.

Godscroft's poem invested Lady Home with a sense of purpose as if she was charged with a mission by the king, but it is likely that her building and interior decoration in London and in Edinburgh was employed as a strategy to make the marriage opportunities for her son (in London) and daughters (in Scotland). New furnishings could be linked with old clan loyalties. She kept a suite of couches and chairs in green and white taffeta, the Home colours, which matched scarves worn by the 600 Home retainers who greeted Charles I at Berwick at

[16] D. Hume in *The Muses Welcome* (Edinburgh, 1618), 14

1633.[17] But the display of this furniture first in the gallery at Dunglass Castle and later in her Edinburgh drawing room could hardly have been effective in building group identity amongst afollowing. These were comfortable and polite furnishings shown only to a few in private rooms.

Remarks by Sir Robert Kerrof Ancram and Patrick Gordon of Ruthven show their awareness of national culture in architecture and manners: Kerr encouraged his son to reconstruct the interior of his house according to English fashion, Ruthven deprecated English manners adopted by Scots. The departure of the king to England increasedsensitivity to national identity and consciousness. In the early seventeenth-century the furnishing of most elite Scottish homes would beinfluenced by English example, arising by emulation of court styles or neighbours' acquisitions, the opportunities for purchase during travel to the new capita, and the busy persuasion of merchants like John Clerk who profited from the urge to refurbish. The contribution of objects to cultural change may have been underestimated by failure to recognise their agencywhen new kinds of rooms and furnishings were establishing a new British hegemony.New drawing chamber furniture required new drawing rooms, driving new architecture or adaptation. It shouldbe unsurprising that interior decoration responded quickly to construct and contribute to this cultural pressure.Contemporary criticism for adopting English manners was levelled at the Marquess of Huntly, whose caput was built a century earlier in uncompromising French style by his great grandfather. His furnishings were confiscated by Mary, Queen of Scots, and his beds promptly reconstructed by her wardrobe servants. Furnishings were so much easier to change than architecture, where change would be resisted, as Kerr wrote, 'because times may change again'.[18]

[17] Frankland, *Annals of King James and King Charles the First*, 430.

[18] *Correspondence of the Earls of Ancram and Lothian*, vol.1, 66.

Appendix

Inventory of Moray House, the Canongate home of Mary, Countess of Home.

Moray Papers, NRAS 217 box 5 no. 5

The inventory text dates from 1631 with further notes and revisions to 1646. In the transcript uncertain readings are included in square brackets. Untranscribed material is indicated by 'etc.' The manuscript is unfoliated.

Contents

[1] A passage entering the garden balcony room.

[2] Probably a suite of garden rooms

[fol.29r.] Ane note of thingis that is in the new rowme that hes the balconie nixt the streit

[fol.30v.] A note of such condition as I purpose to mak with a gardiner

[fol.31r.] Ane note of the thingis in the grein chalmer with the balconie that luiks to the garden

[fol.33v.] A note of the thingis in ye wardrope that is within the galrie of my lady Annis chalmer

[fol.36r.] A note of the thingis in the gardine in Edr

[fol.47r.] Ane not of thingis in the gairden

[fol.49r.] Ane note of thingis in the new wardrope

[fol.51r.] Ane not of the thingis in the galrie nixt my lady anns chalmer

[fol.52r.] A note of the thingis in Bessis garet

[fol.53r.] Ane note of the thingis that is in the gentill menes dyning rowme

[fol.54r] A note of the thingis in Adame Youngis chalmer

[fol.55r.] Ane note of the thingis in Cristiforis chalmer

[fol.56r.] Ane not of thingis in the sealler in Edr

[fol.57r.] Ane note of the thingis in the ye wasche houss in edinburgh 1631

[fol.58r.] Ane note of the thingis in the [K]ithkeing and the l~~aidner~~ in edr 1631 yeiris

Moray House inventory

[fol.1r.] It is to be remembered that all the old work of the house of the canongate is now pointed & all missoret be Jon Scot as the particular compt will show set donn be him and tyed up in the rentall book, the wholl old work will com to 27 rudes and 32 elns at 3s-4d a rud is £4-13s-0d this is besid the new turnpyk head in the inner court.

[fol.2r.] A compt of the trees in the garden
It at the entry of the gat two chirry trees.
Coming up the staires 3 plain trees on growand to a great height
Mor from that plane tree to the end of the mount three chirry trees growand to a great height.
Mor in the sam bounds four ploum trees
Mor from the seit of the mount to the turn of the first corner three ploum trees two apl trees four chirry trees ane appricock tree & a other tree all growand to a great height except ane of the chirry trees.
Mor in the litl plot at the nuik of that wall four chirry trees aganst the wall ane apricok tree and a ploum tree& a lyme tree all growand to a great height & upon the same plot three standand chirry trees tuo of them great ones.
Betwixt that plot & the sumer hous a great wall chirry tree
It from the fardest Summer house to the dor that goes out to the heigh way nyn chirry trees all great ons bot two & four plumn trees.
It from the other side of that dor to the corner of the tofall three great ploum trees on great chirry tree & a litl one from the corner of the tofall to the head of the stair 3 gret chirry trees three great ploum trees
From the bottom of the stair to the corner of the house a great chirry two great ploum trees & a litl plum tree between thes 2 corners a great chirry tree a great ploum tree & a litl chirry tree
From the corner to the dor to goe out a great ploum tree a plane tree a litl plumn tree & a litl chirry tree and a wod [?-ent].
[fol. 2v.] A not of the trees of the first plot as ye go down the garden stares
It in both corners of the stair ther is tuo high ploum trees It on that sid nixt the sea against the wall ther is tua cherry trees all great ons bot ane six ploum trees four of them great and ons bot ane, six ploum trees four of them great ons, and a litl fig tree & ane apl tree a great one.

It ther is standing in that quarter three great apl trees and upon the hedg row & doun that sid of the aley three apl trees three poumes and a little cherry.
It on the bak of the stares that goes down three gret cherry trees.
It on the other sid of the wall towards the toun five great cherry trees and a litl one tuo great apricot trees tuo great ploum trees.
It ther is in that quarter a [?guerye] tree and for great plum trees and a litl [?sk-t] apl tree.
In the hedg row and the way doun the walk a damson tree a great old apl tree a great chirry tree two plumn trees & a apl tree ten litl small trees of divers sorts.
In the second plot within the green walk on the wall goes down that sid the toun is on tuo great chirry trees a great apl tree a great poume tree & tuo litl ones.
It in the first rank ther is nyn chirry trees four apl trees and tuo plooum trees.
In the second rank ther is 13 chirry and [?yeen] trees & great old ploum tree & a lesser ane.
It in the third rank ther is eleven chirreys and [?geens] and four ploum trees.
Upon the far wall nixt the sea tuo gret chirry trees tuo great apricok trees and three litl ploum trees and upon the hedg row four great chirry trees six apl trees ane of them ane old ane.
It in the mids of the tarres ane old ploum tree.

[fol.5r.] The inventare of the stuff of the gallarie
Item a couche bed of wrought saittin
Item a long turkie carpet that lyis under it
Item ane irone chemnay and ane lous bak Item ane fyre shewell and tungs of irne tipit with bras Item ane pair of bellies with a bras nois.
Item a woddin tabill paintit blak and geildit with cheina work
Item aucht wodin cheiris pentit and geildit of the Italliane fassone, four of thame of wane fassione and four of another
Item a geildit eliphantis head with a nossall bit
All the cheiris the tabill the couche bed and eliphantis head hed caissis of green cottane
Item a gret glas of sixteine sundrie glass the case pentit blak
Item a standing pickter of a mane playing upon a violl cost - xxix^{s}.[3]
Item a blak pickter of Lucressia cost - xiiii^{s}.[4]
Item a pickter of arturie cost - x^{s}.

[3] 'standing picture' – a dummy board.

[4] 'black picture' – possibly a bronze with black patination.

Item aucht littill pickters that standis within the windowis cost ii^{s}-vj^{d} the piece

Item a pickter of turkishe womane cost ix^{s}.

Item a pickter of courtissane cost - v^{s}.

Item in on of the windowis ane littil picktor of Lucressia cost - v^{s}.

Item a pickter of Illyas cost - xx^{s}.[5]

Item a day prospeck cost - xl^{s}.

Item a gryt fair picktor of Lucressia cost - xxv^{s}.

Item a litill pickter of fair face cost - viij^{s}.

Item a dusche pickter of a foull hureing a womane cost - xx^{s}.[6]

[fol.5v] Item a pickter of a womane beating hir daughter cost - x^{s}.

Item a pickter of a womane plaitting hir hair cost x^{s}.

Item a pickter of a womane with a waill over hir head cost - x^{s}.

Item a pickter of a womanes face that hed the frame pentit on the buirds cost- viii^{s}.

Item a night prospect cost - xlj^{s}.

Item a Lanskeip cost - xxviij^{s}.

Item a pickter of a fierie and a wenche cost - xij^{s}.

Item a pickter of a womane and a child cost - x^{s}

Item a picktor of a Sibaistione cost vj^{s}.

Item a pickter of a countrie wenche cost - x^{s} vj^{d}.

Item a pickter of womane with a nest of burdis in hir handis cost - xxiiij^{s}-ix^{d}.

Item a pickter of the burning of troy cost - xxx^{s}.

Item a pickter of the kingis q[uhe]^{n} thay com to offer cost - iiij^{lib} v^{s}.

Item a perssia womanes pickter cost iiij^{s}-x^{d}.

Item my lord X X of Murrayis pickter,[7] my lord Hombes pickter, my lord Dounes pickter,[8] my lady Downes pickter and my lady Annis pickter

[margin:X this takin away and ane womane with a stray hat for it]

Item ane woddin stull in the wodhous within the galarie

Item ane littill blak ibonie tabill indentit with ane pare of tabillis in it with thretie tabill men and ane pare of blak dys of geit cost - - ii^{lib} starling

[additions]

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[5] ? *Hylas.*

[6] *Leda and the Swan.*

[7] James Stewart, 3rd Earl of Moray (d.1638).

[8] 'Lord Doune' – James Stewart, 4th Earl of Moray (d.1653).

Item a pickter of ane mane and woman and ane lytill child drawin in owell fassioune cost xxv^{s}.
Item fyve yairdis of greine cloith to cover the billiard buird cost 25^{s} 6^{d}
Boith the 19 of January 1637

Item bought from Johne Forest four billiard clubis of dyvers cullors of wood and bone and aught ballis of wood of syndrie cullors which cost 35s.

[fol.6r] Item delyvered to Dorothie Spense the twentie one of March 1646
Ane silver and greine frame of ane coutch
Item two quilts stuffed with wool for the coutch covered with greine and whyte figured satine and four long cusheons of greine and whyte figured satine sutable to it.
[Margin: All this grein and whyt furnitor taken to Dunibristle]
Item ane great heigh cheare with armes, one heigh cheare with out armes, one low cheare without armes, two heigh stooles, one low stoole, and one foot stoole, all of greine and whyt silver velvet with greine cottan caces to them all
Item two long cusheons and one shorter cusheon of the same greene and whyte silver velvet
More delyvered to her ane picture of ane calves head and two doggs and some other things
More my Ladie Cumberlands picture[9]
More Sr William Walars picture[10]
More ane nicht picture of men and women sitting together in ane blacke frame
More ane picktor allmost the same bigness of ane man playing upon a lute and other men and women by him.
More delyvered to her greene base caces for all the greine cloath cheares and stooles that is bordered with guilt leather

[fol. 7r] A note of the furniter of the drawing chalmer nixt the gallarie
Item ane irone chemnay,
Item ane fyre schewell and tungeis tipit with bras cost v^{s} vj^{d}
Item ane pair of ordinarie belleis
Item ane close stull and a clos stull pane

[9] Margaret Russell, Countess of Cumberland.

[10] Sir William Waller.

Item ane buird laid with squairis before the chemnay cost – viij^{s}
Item a night pickter for the chemnay piece cost xl^{s}.
Item fyve pieces of heingingis
Item two gryt iyrone courtines that two of the hingings runnes one
Item a couche of grein peintit velvet laid with silver laice
Item tow lowe cheires coverit with grein sattine and laid with silver laice
Item a square tabill
Item a carpet on the said tabill of grein cairsayis cordit round about and round about the four corneris with silver gildit ledder
Item four hy cheiris and tow low cheiris of the said carsayis lykways about with the same geidit ledder
Item a frame of a skreine
Item a skrein clothe of the said carsay egeid with the said geidit ledder
Item a longe turkie carpat to lay under the couch bed
Item a silver eliphantis head with a doubill nosall
Item tow silver candils with nossallis
The couch bed the tow saitting chaires the elephants heads and the tow candills hed all grein cottane caisses
Item a picktor of a Wascheing Wensche cost xxv^{s}.
Item ane frame to the couche bed
Item a bed of tyking stuffit with fetheris
[note: all the caises bothe of the grein velvet and cloth and the fram of the couch bed is taken to Tuitnam and tuo hy chyres and tuo lowe chyres of red leather]

[fol.7v.] Mor delyverit to Dorathee Spense the twentie seventh of March 1646
Fyve silver arms with lyons heads three of which were Queene Mothers.[11]
More ane black Ebenee cabbinit standing upon a frame
More hinging above the doore ane picture of manie sundrie men and women fighting and tumbling over one another in ane broade blacke peare tree frame
More delyvered to her six false covers of cheares, one carpet for a table and ane skreene cloath all of rid cloath imbroydered with silver guilt leather, and red base caces for all the cheares.

[11] 'Queen Mother' – Marie d Medici, other references show these were acquired in 1638.

[fol. 9r.] Ane note of the stuff of the gryt dyning rowme

Item ane irone chemnay, Item ane gryt irone fyre schewell cost 12s, Item ane pair of tungeis

Item 13 greit candillis with 13 nossalis that war taken out of Auldergait Streit

Item ane gryt rownd walnut trie table that was taken out of Auldergait Streit

Item ane square tabill of walnatrie

Item ane copbuird of walnarie

Item aucht backit cheiris of reid ledder cost - vij^{s}viij^{d} the piece

Item ane gryt cheire with armes of the samyn~~geilt~~reid ledder at xiiij^{s}.

Item six hy stullis of ye samyn reid ledder at iiij^{s}-vj^{d} ye piece

Item fyve picktors of the seansis cost- [blank]

Item twellf sibillis cost iiij^{lib}x^{s}

Item ane gryt ledder carpet to the rownd buird cost –xl^{s}.

Item ane ledder carpat to the square burd cost - xx^{s}

Item ane ledder carpat to the copbuird cost - xx^{s}

Item thre tabill cloiths of grein cloithe, on of thame of two breids and the other two on breid, all of thame two yards thrie quarteris and ane naill longe egeit round about with bords of gold geilt leather

Item cut out of falsh coveris for the aucht hy backit cheris the six hy stullis and the gryt cheire of the samyn greine clothe bordit about with the samyn gold geilt ledder

Item ane barnes boord with tuo cheiris

[fol.9v.] It dellivered to dorie[12] 1646 one greate cheare with armes sixe~~hie~~ other cheares and sixe stools all fine turkie worke with buckerome kaises

[fol.10r.] [faded, see a revised version on fol. 30]

A not of such conditions as I purpose to mak with my gardner

1 Imprimis I will mak ane inventar of all the trees in the gardine and if I want any tree whither it be dead or not befor I give order to tak it away then he sall forfett all his waiges

2 I will not suffer them to sell a trugg of any lopings and if he be found to have sold any of that kind to aither baker or any uther bot to keep them for my awin use he sall lykwayes forfitt his wageis

[12] 'Dorie' - Dorothy Spense.

3 Mor if he suffer any gras to grow so as it may be proven that ther is long grase sold out of the yard he sall lykwayes forfitt
4 Moir if I can prove that ther be any flower sold out the garden he sall lykwayes forfitt
5 Item I will give no mor victual to a gairdner bot money wages to ~~be~~ be quarterlie payed according to the prices that I gatt for my victual qch is six pounds as I gatt for my awin oats and he is gett sixteein bolls of oats and twa bolls bear and foirtie pound for ane [?mony] fie ane suite of cloathes for labouring my gairden and yard q[uha]t ever he stand in need of
Mair if I prove he sold away of the frute out of the garden he sll lykwayes forfitt And this condition I [?] to

[fol.10v.][faded] In the whole plot quair the bees stand.
Ther is in the buncar ryght round about six cherrie trees three aple trees two plum trees and a litle walnut tree all great ons, bot on litle goen In the bodie of that plot three young aple trees and ane old aple tree.
In the plote on the other hand thair is in the buncar round about eleven trees, of three of them ar great old trees and the rest larg young trees except 3, the old trees are acid aple & twa plum trees four quarte four chirie 2 plum and 2 aples
In the quarter nixt the bouling green the grein trees sett is 4 aple tree 3 plum trees 2 gon trees
In the bodie ther is aroun tree a cherrie tree & a plovir all reasonable great, in the middle just befoir going up the stair a great plum tree all round about the seat ther is in all 17 trees most plome trees sum of them plain trees only on the other syd of the seat ther is three great ploum trees and a chirrie.
Round about the bouling alay I passjust against the midle of the seat a great ploum tree ther is on the green border nixt the wall tuo old peir trees and a little young on & in the midle of that walk a great old pear tree.
Upon the wall from the [from the] staires foot at the quarter nixt the [?besboys] to the [west]most door nixt the bowling green fyve great plums & chirries and three little young ons.
Mair to the bouling allie six great trees they are twa chiries & four plums. Ther is six plum trees twa aple trees ane apicot tree & fyve chirrie trees all round about the wall of the bowling alley. Upon the wall on the other side from the stair foote of the [gret] plot to the foot of the nixt stares aple tree apricot tree & two cherry trees & two ploum tress all great ons bot 3 fra that stair foot to the baikin hous a aple tree a plum & thrie in the plot above the fountain ther

is round about the boundary sevin great plum trees & nyne Cherie trees. In the bed is [?-] of 3 ploum trees on of them a great oly on And a companie of little stak.
Upon the wall as ye go out at the bak door under the [li'] ther is fyve Cherie trees & four plum trees on both syds of the pend four great green trees & tuo little ploum trees.
Upon the wall from the corner of the going on the sothe cornir 2 on theeast syd whereis 7 plum trees a cherie tree & aple tree ffrom that going to the far sid of the banketing hous[13] apicok trees 7 cherrie tree & a plain tree all great ones bot tuo in the wilderness ther is 14 great trees wherof 2 of them 2 old plum trees on a midle tree in a philbert trie & the rest plumes and cherries& the [?midle] about it birk [?&] divers uthir little trees.

In the mount yard.

On the top of the mount a thorne tree a ploum tree mair on that side nixt the bak of the Canongate 15 plum trees all great ons bot 2 great ash trees on the other sid nyntein plum trees all great but but tuo bourthies

[fol.11r.] A note of the things that is in the drawing chalmer with the chakerat fluire
Item ane irone chemnay with thee lous barris
Item ane chemnay back
Item ane fyre schewill and tungis tipit with bras
Item ane irone courting roid
Item tow hy cheiris coverit with reid carsay that hed lous prantado caices
Item tow lowe cheiris with armes that is coverit with reid carsay that hes lous prantado caices.
Item ane hy cheir with armes that is coverit with reid carsay that hes lous prantado caces.
Item the gryt cheir with armes hed ane lous case of hall bucrin
Item ane pickter that heings in the on syd of the windowe of a boy with the candill light schyning in his face cost - xv^{s}.
Item in the other syd of the windowe ane other boyis pickter with ane tourkitt head cost - iiij^{s}.
Item a couche bed with wane head with tow coultis is in the Fluris compt
Item a cover to the heads of the couche bed and a cover to the coultis of the samyn prantado
Item ane square tabill of walnatrie
Item ane carpat to it of prantado

[13] One of two references to the summerhouses as banqueting houses.

Item four piece of heingings of the samyn prantado lynit with canves that coveris round about all the rowme over doris and windows.
Item ane chemnay piece of the samyn prantado.
Item sevin frenche candill stickis of coper pentit and geidit with sevin cops and sevin nossalls
Item the gryt cheir wt armes hes ane lous case of yallow bucram
Item 2 picktors bougt at giltropis cost xxviij^{s} a peis.[14]
Item a littil pictor of ane womane above the dorr nearest to my Ladyis chalmer
Item upoune the 15 of Jully 1638 bought at London ane cobbord lynit with whyt ivorie, cost vj^{lib}.
[fol.11v] ~~Item ane Copboord for Sueitmeits cost 6lbs 8s~~
Item delyvered to Dorathee two great heigh cheares with armes and tuo low stooles of blacke velvet wrought with silke slips with greene cottan caces to them
More ane litle pair of french virginalls standing upon ane wainscot frame[15]
More delyvered to her ane picture of ane companie of folks sitting drinking and one man taking tobacco
More hinging over the chimney the picture of Ben: Johnstoune the great poet

[fol.12r] A note of the thingis in my ladyis chalmer:[16]
Item there is of blak and whyt heingings that hings rownd about all the chalmer courteins twentie thre breds and ane half.
More ane piece of ane other work that heingis behind the bed conteining three long breds and two short ones
Item ane bed steid pentit blak and whyt.
Item, utter valance and inner wallance that goes round about the bed. Item 5 courteins one of thre breds and the other four of them two breds the peis. Item ane head piece and ruiff all of blak and quhyt stuff
Item four cnabis pentit blak and whyt
Item tuo hy cheiris without armes
Item tuo low cheiris with armes whereof on of them is in the Fluris comt

[14] 'Giltrop' – George Geldorp artist and picture dealer.
[15] NRAS box 5 no.1, fol.9, Donibristle, has a corresponding note under the little dining room, 'theas littil pair of virginals takin to the canongait and the frame thay stand on'.
[16] The bedchamber of Mary Dudley, Countess of Home.

Thay are all coverit with blak and whyt stuff and hes lous keases of the same, all but the cheir of the Fluris comt, and that hes ane cover of ane of other kind blak and whyt stuff
Item ane litill round folding tabill
Item ane old buirdclaith to it maid of ane blak & whyt gowne of my Lady Annis
Item ane newe buirdclaith to it maid of the same stuff that the cheiris is of ye Fluris comt
Item two grt geilt ledder boxis with two frames to thame
Item ane clos stull and ane chalmer pote
Item ane roche stray mate
Item ane hardin under mate fillit with woll and cuttit
[fol. 12v] [Margin: All this whyt furnitor is left in London except the stullis and cheris and for that ther wes bought at London tuo hy cheris and tuo lowe cheris coverit with grein carsay that hes lous coveris to thame covered with blak and whyt stuff and the whyt bed stead.
Item a downe bed and ane bouster]
Item tuo downe pillous, cost £4-3s-8d [etc.,bedding, fire gear]
Item ane mat to lay upoune the top of the bed of red prentado lynit with lynning
Item a read ruge
Item ane square iyrne chemnay wrought with fluir delussis
Item ane lous iyrne flanderis back to it
Item ane littill rowne wickare skrein
Item ane wainscot cupboard with ane blak clothe cover to it that is in the count of the wane of the fout carpets in the Fluris
Item ane square tabill of walnatrie ther is ane cover to it of blak cloith that is in the count of wane of the fout carpets in the Fluris
Item ane folding bed that is in the Fluris compt
Item ane gret blak cabinet and a blak frame to it
Item gryt sypros keast and ane little sypros keast
Item ane red leather standish box
Item ane little red leather trunk
Item ane woodin stull
Item ane little doune bed that lyis in the top of my bed with ane caice of cloith that covers it
Item ane frame of a skrein pentit black and whyt
Item ane frame to seat ane buik one

[with pinned note] It is to be rememberit that thair is left with Marioune the chemnay peis heingingeis ane peis heinging that was nixt to my cabinet of the same grein carsay laid wt the same grein lais of the furnitor of my chalmer and four cnabis of the same lais and carsay

[fol.12r] A note bought of furnitor to my Ladyis chalmer at London 1633
Item fyve peis of landschip hingings at vs-vd a stick the hoill com to thretie fyve pound
Item ane bed of dark gray carsay laid with papingere grein lais that cost £24-0-0
Thair is belonging to the bed a bed steid vj courteins inner valance and outer vallance, bothe courtinnes and wallances bouttonid and heid peis and roof peis with four covers to the posts.
Item a hy cheir with armes
Item two hy cheris without armes
Item tuo lowe cheris ane lowe cheir wt armes
Item ane foot stull all of the same carsay laid with the same lais
Item ane carpet for a square boord buttonid doune all the four sydis laid with the samyn laise and of the same carsay
Item plane square carpet of the same carsay laid with same laice
Item ane square table of wainscot with ane drawer
Item four cnabis[17] to the bed covered with same carsay and laid with the same laise
Item four iryne pins and keys
~~Moir maidwhen I com hombe on the 18 Agust 1633 ane other fustiane coult~~
[fol. 13r] Item a frame to a cannabie with ane iyrne rod
Item tuo courteines of grein carsay laid with popingar grein lais
Item a head peis of the same grein carsay and taster laid with the same lais the courtines hes bottones and loupis
Item two pair of vallance gois round about the head of the cannabie of same carsay laid with the same lais and grein freinis
Item fyve cnabis of the same carsay laid with the same lais
Thus fare
Item bought at London 1635 ane cupbord to hold the chalmer pleat cost £5-0s-0d
Item ane folding tabill maid in the frenshe fassoune cost 20s-0d
Item at the samyn tyme bought ane warming pan cost 8s

[17] 'cnabis' – knops or knobs.

Item over the dor that gois to the chakered rowme two picktors ane of ane shipherd and ane other of ane other of ane shiperdeis
Mor at the same tyme thrie pictors above the chimnay ane of thame is ane pictor of a mane & ane of ane woman & the 3 is of ane boy ryding on ane goit
It boght the 8 of Marche 1636 one spite to roste oysteris and a pair of andirons
Item ane littil cristall candlestick
Item ane thrie corned luiking glass
Item bought when the hingings was bought four littill turkie carpetts to lay about the bed 2 to the feit & on to each syd

[fol.14r.] Ane note of the whyt furnitor bought at Edr the 24 day of August 1633
Item vi peis of hingingis everie peis thre yards and half a quarter deipe the first peis in bred four yards and ane half yard the second peiss of bred thre yards and ane quarter the third peiss of thre yards and ane half bred the fourt peiss is thre yards bred the fift peiss is sext yards brod the sext is ane yard and half ane quarter bred.
[margin: the pese of foure yerdes & a half is cut into tow pieces]
Item a bed of holland stripit with neit work and cut work that hes vj courteines a ruif for the bed a head peis iij peis of wallance and ane scheit for the bed all suitable.
Bought the 23 of September the yeiris of god 1635 from Margaret the wascheing woeman a little squair networke table clothe cost a dollar.
Item of the samyn net work four coveris to the bed posts.
Item of the samyn net work for six cheiris two of thame armeid two of thame hy cheiris & two of thame lo cheiris without armes, and ane foot stull.
Item of the samyn net work thre boord clois.
[margin: one of these three borde clothes is cut out in to a chimne pese]
Item four coveris to the cnabis & four ruffis to goe about thame.

This whyt furnitor is now left with Judeth and is set downe in Tuitnighame book[18]
Item a fyn holland scheit wrought with fyn blak work that that Judeth wrought it is schadowit work with [fol.14v] blak silk it is 3 bredthe of holland thre yardis & ane halfe long
Item ther is a pair of pillabills maid up for the same this fyne sheit and pillabeiris is taken to Donibrisell.

[18] 'Twickenham book' – Inventoryu of Twickenham Park, NRAS 217 box 5 no.13, fol.2.

Item upoune the 14 of november 1638 bought of the gray cloith seven plaids and a half at 1s-9d a yard, which is maid in thre heidis and tuo yards and a halff to hing befoir the chalmer dore cumis to, xiij^{s}-j^{d}-1ha

[fol.15r.] Ane nott of plate standing within the cupbuird in my ladies chamber
Imprimis ane silver skellet with ane cover
Item ane pott withe ane cover of the dutchess of richmond fashione
Item a boule with ane cover of the queines fashioune
Item ane silver pastell and mortar
Item ane pund weight of silver
Item ane casting bottle with ane cheine
Item ane top for the silver chafine dishe
Item two litle silver dishes with two eares
Item ane silver sugare boxe with ane lock and keye
Item ane silver server

In the grein schelff cabinett within my ladyis chalmer
Item ane reid ledder trunk with ane frame to it of wainscot
Item ane hy woddin stull and a low woodin stull
Item ane buttir tube with ane covir
Item ane cane for wattir
Item delyvered to Dorathie the twentieth of march 1646
Ane wenscott spyce box with drawers

In my ladyis Inner Chalmer
Item ane gray marbill morter and ane pestell
Item ane litell boord that lyis upoune the iyrne cheist
Item ane pair of waffer irnes
Item a pane to burne rois watter in

[fol.16r] A note of the thingis in my lady Annis chalmer

Item ane [?slogh][19] bed steid
Item ane hoill grein furnitor of sibombasie with head peis and ruiff and wallance round about and fyve courtingis
Item twa stray mates
Item thre lous burds to set about the bed
Item ane fedder bed and bouster
Item ane downe pillowe
Item ane pair of walkit blankets
Item ane pair of sprangit blankets
Item ane pair of plaiding blankets
Item ane wainscot coburd
Item ane blak ledder chere and ane reid cheir boith with armes
Item ane iryne chemnay
Item ane fyre shewill and ane pair of tunges
Item ane conne for wattir
Item thre peices of dornishe hingings that wes ane greit skrein cloith
Item ane wodin stull
Item in the pallet in my Lady annis chalmer
Item ane stray mat ane ane fedder ane boustar
Item ane lynit woven covering
Item to my anns bed ane grein rug
Item ane woddin tub to wasche hir feit in
Item ane clos stulland ane clos stull pane and ane chalmer pote
Item ane copburd for suitmeits cost xxs-0d

[fol.16v.] A note of the thingis in the galrie without my Lady Anis chalmer[20]
Item ane pair of Virginallis and ane frame thame

[fol.17r] A note of the thingis in my Ladyis cabinet[21]
Item an irone chemnay with thrie lous barris

[19] Perhaps ‘slope bed’.

[20] Noted again on fol.51 with furnishings from Dunglass Castle ready to be fitted in the new adjacent garden balcony room.

[21] Lady Home’s cabinet was at the south east corner of the house.

[margin: this chemnay is now in the guilded rome]
Item ane lous back to it
Item ane brod peis of iyrne gois betuix the back and the chimney
Item thrie irone courteine roids, tuo of them for the windows and wane for the press.
Item 12 peis of prantado hingings lynit with canves
Item 4 courteins of prantado two for the windows, and two for the press lynit with blew canves.
Item ane chemnay peice of prentado lynit with canves
Item ane couche bed with two heads that hes lous coveris to sleip on of prentado.
Item two canves coultis slopit with woll
Item ane frame to the tope of the couche
Item ane irone courting roid that goes round about the couche bed
Item six cussiones of tyking stofit with fedderis
Item six lous keassis of prantado lynit with canves to put over them
Item tuo gryt curteines that drawes rownd about the couche bed
Item ane head peis and ruiff and coverlit of the same prantado lynit with canves
[fol.17v] Item ane pair of walnes cut in callopis round about the couche bed[22]
Item ane turkie carpat of thrie yards long that lyes under the couche bed
[margin: this turkie carpet giffin to my La: Downe]
Item two lowe cheris coverit with reid carsay that hes lous caices of prentado and lykways lows caces of bucram
Item ane fyre shewill and tungis of silver
Item ane pair of silver andirons
Item two handillis of silver with nossalis of silver to skrue into thame
X Item ane ibanie cabinat with panes of glass[23]
Item ane frame to it of walnutrie
Item ther is in the cabinet xlij buikis.[24]
Moir ther is in the cabinet ane grein velwet cabinet and ane purpor cabinet and reid welwot box
Item ane fork of carnelione bandit about on thrie syndrie pairtis with gold

[22] Vallances for the couch bed canopy cut in scallops.

[23] The marginal 'X' means 'at present in London'.

[24] These titles of these books are given in NRAS 217 box 5 no.1.

Item yr is with out the cabinet ye tuo buikis of Martirs Plutarkis Lyveis in frence and thasther[25]

Item ane gryt geidit watter glas that tells the weddir with ane case to it of timber pentit grey [Margin: this glas my lady Hamilton gait][26]

Item ane pair of indentit ibanie tabillis with silver men with the cace of them in timber pentit green

Item ane pair of belleis with reid ledder with ane nossal of brass

Item two blew frames geildit with silver to seat thingis upone cost xxvs.

Item tuo gryt wax babeis standing in boxis

[margin: on of this babeis giffin lady Sofya Maitland]

Item two littil wax babeis that hes ane woddin box to put thame in

X Item ane littil ageit mortar with ane pistell to it

Item ane littill silver box with ane lock and key

[fol.18r.] Item ane flat littil candilstick

Item ane gryt low candillstick that hes ane gryt nossal to hold the candills

Item ane silver bell with ane tunge

[margin: this silver bell was given to Mr Alexander Tompson]

~~Item ane pare of silver snuffers~~

Item ane littil box pentit black and silver

Item ane elne wand of ane reid tipit and reinit about with silver

Item ane cristall glass cattill

Item ten quhyt headis cost xx^{s}.

Item tua littil artificiall doges wane browne and ane blak

Item ten old lyk littil brass picktors cost 10s the peice with frames

Item tua picktors of the prens of Orangis and his wyffis cost, viij^{s}.

Item more thre brase picktors lyk the former cost 4s the piece

Item tuo littil brass picktors cost iiiis the peice

Item ten brass picktors that hengis in the windowis with frames cost liis-vid.

Item for ane bige picktor of womanes head cost xxiis. [margin: this picture is at London]

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[25] Perhaps a manuscript by Esther Inglis. An Esther Inglis volume is mention in the Donibristle inventory NRAS 217 box 5 no.1.

[26] The weather glass, a kind of early barometer. This 'Lady Hamilton' may be Ann Cunningham, Marchioness of Hamilton.

Item twelf picktors of the twelff monthes of the yeir set in ibanne frames cost 7s the piece £4-4^{s} [Margin: these pictures is given to Mr Alexander Henderson]

Item ane picktor of the fareis

Item ane littil lanskeip and ane gryt lanskip cost xlvs.

Item thre littill picktors of landskeipis with frames of ibannie cost xs the peise

Item ane greit standing picktor of ane chalmer maid cost xxxiis-vid.

Item ane picktor that was cost frome maister Jonstoune of four fates cost xxs that hangis above the glass

Item thrie littil picktors with skuare frames of ibanne and set with stones cost xis the piece

[fol.18v.] Item ane picktor of Irobia ryding in the sea in ane ibanie frame cost 12^{s}.[27]

Item ane whyt marbill mortar cost xv^{s}

Item for tuo quhyt picktors on ane mane on hors back ane with ane lyone on ane hors cost xxx^{s}.

Item ane picktor of ane pot of fluris cost xxs set in ane ibannie frame

Item ane picktor of brass with ane ibanie frame of ane womane in ane blew mantill holding ane bairne in hir armes cost xx^{s}.

Item ane picktor of ane womane upon brass wt ane frame playing upoune the organnes cost iiiis.

Item two verie litill picktors set in ibanie frames on ane square frame and ane wther ane tornare cut frame boith pentit wpoune cardis

Item ane picktor of ane old mane and a womane holding ane child in hir armes pentit upoune buirds with ane ibanie frame [margin: this picture is at London]

Item ane picktor of four fateis with ane boaris head and ane doge pentit upoune wod set in ane ibanie frame and geildit about

Item ane picktor of ane old man two women and two children pentit on wod and set in ane walnutrie frame cost [blank]

Item the picktor of ane ereishe womane

Item the picktor of ane courtisene with ane black weill over hir

Item ane picktor of 5 boyis waistling for ane doge set in ane reid spreckillit frame

Bought at Londane 1635 ane burning glass cost, 15^{s}0^{d}

[margin: this burning glas is at London]

[fol.19r.] Item ane whyt pot to hold fluris cost 15s.

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[27] Europa

Item ane picktor of the ejepteis telling fortownes set in ane wodin frame[28]
Item ane old picktor of ane gryt pot of fluris set in ane woodin frame with geildit frikill
Item ane indentit ibannie tabill cost iij^{li}
Item ane luiking glass put in aught cornallis set in ane frame of reid wod and black ibannie
Item it hes ane wainscot cace with ane lid that drawis
Item ane doge set in ane ibannie frame that pisched
Item ane littil sellar for sinimone watter pentit blew and gildit[29]
[margin: this sellar is at London]
Item ane prospeck of whyt bone
Item ane littill box of with whyt [?-ell]
Item ane box with nyne pines and ane boull of bone
Item ane pictor of ane weynd mylne, cost 6^{s} [margin: in London]
Item ane picktor of a none in brase with ane frame to it, iiis.
Item ane picktor of tuo womane keilling ane mane set in a ritche geildit cace.[30]
Item ane litill lanskeip set in ane ibanie frame
Item ane wthr littill lanskeip of ane womane leading ane hors and ane cart set in ane walnutrie frame
Item ane stanishe box of blak ledder geildit all over
Item the silver fyre shewill tungis and andyrons hes yallow cottane casis
[Additions] Item six littill silver picktors set in ibannie frames
Item two staweis on of them reid with ane silver head and ane wthr of brissil wt ane whyt bone head [margin: the ibannie staiff giffin away and the other lost]
Moir bought at London 1635 ane grein skrein pentit and geildit cost 12^{s}-0^{d}.
[fol.19v.] Item a whyt glas and a cullorid glase to set watteris in
Item a gryt salt of blak and whyt marbill [margin: this salt is at London]
Item a read lether caice with six marbill [?-or] saltis in it
[margin: this read leather is at London]
Item a litill marbill coupe [margin: this coupe is at London]
Item a littil sellar of carnation plus with wane glas in it
Item a blewe velvet trunk laid with silver lais

[28] Gypsies telling fortunes

[29] For cinnamon water

[30] *Judith and Holofernes*.

Item tuo littill pictors of whyt marbill
Item a littill candilstick of whyt iyrne silveridd and gieldit and cullors inableit.
Item 3 pictors set in ibanie frames on of the king of Frances & his queens and another of our owin kingis
Item a littill marble morter and a pistoll marleit [margin: this marble mortar is at London]
Item a glas in ane ibannie frame laid rownd about wth fluris of silver cost – viij^{lib}0^{s}
Item tuo littill standing pictors of collored silk
Item a loid stone egeit with silver
Item a little coup of whyt agait
Item a littil amber bottill
Item a pictor caice of amber
Item a littil crystall box [margin: at London]
Item a blew cristall glass done with silver [margin: at London]
Item a caice of cnyffs of crimsone welwett laid with silver laise that hes cnyffs of helatropus[margin: taken to London]
Item ane littill buird caige that my lord downe gave me
~~Item tuo peaper picktors with the chenging fateis cost 4^{s}~~

[fol.20r] Item tuo picktors luikis with contrar fateis maid on paper cost 3s a piece[31]
Item xvi little picktors done in brass cost 3s a piece the name whairoff is King James, a lyon, a doge, the meare of Londoun, ane that carried the sword and fought with ane snaik, a woomane with a nightraill, deathes head, a ruit, another gentill woman, a cat, ane uther doge, ane lambe, ane uther womane ane heinchemane and the lady mereis. [margin: at London]
Item ane thre cornered luiking glas
[margin: that glass is given to my lo: of murrey this counter boxe is in London]
Item ane silver counter box full of silver counteris

Item delyvered to Dorathee Spense the twentie seventh of March 1646
One large peice of yellow flowered hingings that hings all the rowme except the windows and the chimney.
Item one piece that covers the top of the chimney and another piece on the side of it the same.

[31] Pair of pictures with contrasting outcomes.

Item three courtaines of crimson taffetiethat hangs befor the two windows and the press edged round about with a little crimson fringe.
Item a piece of crimson taffetienailed on the side of the window next the door.
Item another piece nailed to the side of the press.
Item ane silver trunke
Item ane flatt cabinet that hangs up against the wall lined with greine velvet.
Item ane figure in brasse done be Singeur Fonelio ane Italian of St George upon horse backe killing of ane dragon standing upon ane little pettie stole of Ebenee and ane wenscott box to put it in.[32]
Item ane walnut tree boxe inled with ebenee and lined with crimsone satine.
Item ane blacke ebenee boxe with ane drawer in it lined with green taffatie.
[fol.20v] Item ane silver candlestick of ane cupide holding two nosills in ane greene leather cace.
Item ane peice of Italiane plate maid lykwise by Singeur Fonelio.[33]
Item ane picture standing in one of the shelfs of the presse of grapes and other fruits and flowers.
Item standing in the glasses cupboorde ane scarlet coloured velvet box laid with silver lace with ane great nicomeia cup in it.
Item ane perfumed leather box with ane guilt lock & key.
Item ane little trunke wrought with silver and coloured silks,
Item ane faltt tortoshell dish
Item ane cristall bal
Item standing upon the top of the cupboorde ane rid speckled east indian box lined with carnetian taffatie
Item my Lords picture done in water collours and ane cristall over it[34]
Item Mals[35] and Franks done the same way
Item the princis picture done the same way
Item two fine little lanscaps in Ebenee frames
Item ane litle picture of pallas

[32] Francesco Fanelli

[33] Francesco Fanelli.

[34] James Stewart, 4th Earl of Moray.

[35] 'Mals' probably Mary Stewart, daughter of Margaret, Countess of Moray and executor of the Countess of Home.

Item ane litl tortoishell looking glasse
[addition] item ane marbill bassin standing upon a walnuttrie frame

[fol.22r.] A note of the thingis in the Marbill Wolt
Item ane blak marbill tabill cost xij^{lib}.
Item with ane lous covering of greine cottane.
Item four woddin cheiris of the Italliane fassone, two of wane fassione and two of another pentit and geildit that was takin out of Auldergait Streit, with coveris to thame all of grein cottane.
Item ane gryt pickter of womane leading of pecockis cost xls
Item a pickter of Pittir qn he was in prisone
Item a couch bed with ane head of wainscot with two quyltis to it, on of them coverit with blak clothe bordit about with gold geilt ledder and the other all coverit with gold geilt ledder
Item a cussione coverit with the samyn geilt ledder
Item the couch bed hes cover of two breids of greine cottane and the cussiane is coverit with grein cottane
Item two mapis on of Ingland and ane other of Scoitland
Item ane duche pickter where they are slyding upone iyss
Item a pickter of cheritie that was taken out of Auldergate Streit
Item fyve pickters of thame that was bought out of Sr Evirot Dicfies pryses.[36]

[fol.22v.] A note of the thingis in the utter wolt
Item ane picktor of Cleopater cost xxx^{s}.
Item 11 pickters that was bought out of Sr Evirot Digbeis prys cost vis a piece
Item ane pickter of a contrie mane cost x^{s} vj^{d}.

[fol. 23r.] A note of the thingis in the lange wolt qr the turning cheir is
Item ane iyrne chemnay with a fast back
Item ane pair of fyre shewillis and tungis cist viii s.
Item thre hy cheiris and thre low cheiris of grein leader
Item a couche bed of wallnatrie, with tow quyltis to it and ane cussione.
Item the cussione is coverit with grein ledder

[36] From Sir Everard Digby.

Item ane cover to the couche bed of grein ledder,
Item ane whyt marbill tabill with a carvit fout of wood to it
Item ane cover to it of greine cottane
Item ane gryt map of all the World that coveris the wane end of the hous
Item ane pickter in stone of a foull
Item thrie stone pickters pentit quhyt
Item ane little stone pikter of a womane holding fluris in hir lape cost 10^{s}
Item ane pickter of King Harrie the aught cost 10^{s}.
Item ane stone picktor of ane womanes face put in brass cullor
Item ane picktor of ane bage pyper cost 40^{s}
Item tuo littill doges of stone
Item ane littil pictor taking a thorne out of it feit
Item a leame pickter of on of the apossilis
Item a pickter put in bras cullor set on a blak frame drawin half way
Item 3 whyt pottis to put flouris in
Item a blew and whyt chalmer pot
[fol. 23v. addition] Item the kings picture done in brasse colloure be ane french man
Item ane little figure of Hercules in brasse

[fol.24r] A note of the things in My lady Downes nurserie
Item ane folding bed steid, Item ane fedder bed and bouster, Item ane blew mate, Item ane pair blankets.
[fol.24v] Item Marione hed a fedder bed, ane pair of blankets and ane blew mate ane bowster.

[fol.25r] A note of the thingis in my Lady Downes chalmer
Item ane square buird of wanscoit
Item ane wodin stull
Item thre peis of heingings
Item ane bed steid
Item ane pand ane head ane ruif peis of blew perpertuana laissit with blew silk and whyt thread lais and framit with blew and whyt silk, Item fyve courteines of the same perpetuana tuo of thame of ane breid the peis, tuo of thame of ane breid and ane half, and ane of tuo breids all streipit with the same lais
Item ane stray mate, Item ane fedder bed and ane bouster, Item ane blew ruge.

It is to be rememberit that the bousteris is caissit bot not the bed.
Item two pair of sprangert blankets, Item tuo downe pillows
Item two hy cheires and tuo low cheiris of blew perpetuana laid with the same lais thay haif caissies of buckrum
Item ane skware tabill of wanscoit, Item carpet to it of perpetuana caissit with the same lais
Item ane clos stull, ane clos stull pane and ane chalmer pote.
Item ane irone chimney.
Item tu downe pillows

[fol.26r] A note of thingis in the Wardrope below staris that is within the chalmer that is nixt to my Lords chamber[37]
Item ane grein cannabie head piece and wallance
Item three walnutrie tabills that fassins with irons.
Item ane newe grein rugge
Item ane gryt skrein taken out of Drumglas, with ane gryt grein skrein clathe taken from Drumglas
Item in anno 1638 bought at London tuo baiking panes bras with coveris cost 11s.

[fol.27r] Ane note of the things in my lord Homes chalmer[38]
Item ane skuare wainscot tabill that my daughter maid toke Jeane[39] sayis sche hes wane for it
Item ane wanscoit copbuird
Item thrie peis of hingingis
Item ane head peis ruiff and wallance of yallow parpituana laissit with gingillie silk and crewell lais and ane seme of ginillie silk
Item fyve peis of courteines on them tuo breids tuo of them ane breid and ane half and two of thame on breid the peis
Item the four postis is coverit with the same parpituana laissit with the same lais and everie one of them hes yallow cotton caices
Item ane carpet of the samyn parpituana laissit with gingilane lais that was bought qn the sewit carpat was stollin that was in the Fluris compt [etc.]

[37] This wardrobe, Lord Home's chamber, and the male servant accommodation was on a floor below Lady Home's suite.

[38] James, 2nd Earl of Home died in 1633.

[39] Jean Dascheill, housekeeper.

[fol.27v.] Upoune the 12 of December 1636 bought for the samyn bed ane pair of plane plaiding blankets.
Now the 12 of march 1642 after the things was given to dory given her of Dunglas compt after the house was blowen up[40] an upper mat to the bed of fine lying cloath.

My lords utter chalmer
Item ane gryt wodden cheist with bandis lock and key to it
Item for my lords menes bed, Item ane stray mate, Item ane fedder bed and bouster, Item ane pair of blankets, Item ane lynit wollein covering. This bedding of clois is all in Dunglas Compt.
[fol.28r] this ruge is given to lady Maitland.[41]
A note of the thingis that is in the cheist in my lords wtter chamber
[includes] Moir in ye samyn cheist ane gryt saittein cult of syndrie cullors lynit wt calligo this cult is given to my Lo Down [etc.]

[fol.29r.] Ane note of thingis that is in the new rowme that hes the balconie nixt the streit
Item ane gryt frame for ane buik pentit blak and geildit cost 15s.
Item ane frame to hing against the wall pentit blak and geildit
Item 5 peis of heingingis lynit
Item ane littill tabill pentit blak and geildit with firkeillis of gold with ane carpeit to it of blak and geidit ledder
Item ane hy cheir of blak wrought velvet maid in the Italliane fashione laid with gold lais and gold buttones packit up in cace of hardin
Item ane couche bed of timber pentit blak and geildit with gold it hes ane cace of yellow bais ane coverit over with hardin
Item ane covering for the couch bed of yellow sey two breids and tuo yards and ane half quarter long
Item ane pair of bellies pentit blak and geildit cost 8s.
Item ane irone chemnay bak
Item ane gryt pikter for a chemnay peis cost £4
Item the queines pickter and [?infinis] cost £5

[40] Dunglass castle was demolished by an explosion on 27 August 1640.

[41] Anne Home, Countess of Lauderdale.

Item tuo frames to set candillis pentit blak and geildit

Item four folding stullis

Item coveris for the four folding stullis of black wrought velvet egeit about with gold lais and laid about with long buttons and lynit with black caligo

Item two cheris coverit yellow perpertuana with ane litill foot stull coverit with the samyn

Item the tuo cheiris hes lous keasis of yellow sey and [-] lous keassis of yellow buckrum

Item ane fyre schewell and ane pair of tungis of brais

Item ane cannabie head pentit and geildit, Item a cloith to it of blak and gold stuff frengeid at the top and the bottom with gold thread and silver freinges

Item ane coverleit to the samyn of four bridds egeit about wt gold lais

Item six cussiones of the said stuff egeit about with the said gold lais and lynit in the other syd with blak wrought velvet

Item coveris for the six long cussiones of yellow sey

Item tuo long courteines of blak and yellow taffetie

Item tuo long courteines of yellow sey three breids tuo yards and three quarteris long that coveris the curtains

[fol. 29v] Item ane carpet of blak tuffit taffetie egeit about with gold lais and laid downe all the corneris with long gold buttones and lynit with blak caligo

Item tuo hy backit cheiris and ane fuit stull of the said gold stuff laid about with the said gold lais and lynit with black caligo

Item coveris for the four folding stullis of blak wrought velvet egeit about with gold lais and laid about with long buttownes and lynit with calligo

Item tuo long courteines of yellow say thre breids tuo yards and three quarteris long that coveris the courteines

Item ane standing pickto^{r} of ane womane playing on the Luit

Item ane crystal candillstick cost - xxi^{li}-v^{s}-0^{d}

Item bought at Londone ane gryt standing clock geildit with ane ibinie case with silver locks to it and ane silver key

Item ane gryt blak glas with ane ibanie frame and ane case of boords to it

[margin: this glas giffin to my lady lauderdaill].[42]

Item ane pair of brais andyrones

Item tuo coults to the couche bed

[42] Anne Home, Countess of Lauderdale.

Item tuo whyt iyrone candle sticks inamellit
Item vi collored glass to hold watter and flours
Item iiii whyt plaine glass to hold watter and flours
Item ane gryt geildit pot to hold flouris bought at Londone 1635 cost 26^{s} 0d.

[fol.30r] Item delyvered to Dorathee Spense the nynteinth day of March 1646
Ane large carpet for a table of blacke velvet set about the border with great silke slips containing just fourtie slips with the Haringtounes arms wrought in betwixt everie slip
More delyvered to her ane black velvet cusheon wrought in slips with the Haringtouns arms in the midle of it
More delyvered to her ane fine great ebonie cabbenit with fine picturs within and standing upon a frame
More delyvered to her ane fine clocke that stands upon the litle table
More on paire of ebenee tables done with silver, and the table men hes the Kinge and Queens picture done in silver upon them
More ane greate silver basket finelie cutt and ane blacke leather cace for it
More one silver perfuming pott
More ane silver bell
More standing in the chymney one china pot with ane cover and two lesser of another fashion on everie side of it
[addition] Item delyvered to doretie Spence the ten of Junii 1646 too great silver brenche candlesticks and too great silver floure pottes
More ane silver ros waterpane
Item delyvered to her at the same tyme ane couche bed, two frenche chares and foure folding stoules, the frames painted blew and gilded withe false coveris of watched satine layed with broad gold and silver lace and caces of blew perpetuana

[fol.30v.a revised version of conditions for a gardener on fol.2]
A note of such condition as I purpose to mak with a gardiner.
1. First I will mak an Inventar of all the trees in the garden and if I want any tree whether it bee dead or not before I give order then hee shall forfeit his wages.
2. More I will not suffer them to sell a tryg of any lopings and if hee bee fund to have sould any of that kynd to either baker or any other but to keip them for my owne use hee shall likways forfeit his wage

3. More if suffer any grass to grow so as it may be proven that ther is long grass sold out the yaird hee shall likewyse forfeitt.
4. More if I can prove that there bee any flowers sold out the garden hee shall likewyse forfeit
5. I enggage to furnish the gardner with all working tools whatever hee stands in need of for the use of the garden & yaird
6. And I will give to my Gardner sixteen bols of oats & two bols of beer & twenty shillings towards an suite of cloathes
7. And for an mans fee fourty pounds scotts, and for furnishing of garden seeds six pound twelve shillings scotts
8. And if he sell any fruite out the garden hee shall likways forfeiitt

[fol. 31r] Ane note of the thingis in the grein chalmer with the balconie that luiks to the garden
Item ane irone chemnay to burne sea coill in, Item ane irone chemnay back, Item ane pair of belleis with reid ledder, Item ane fyre schewell and tungeis tipit with brais
Item ane pickter of ane chemnay peis of ane womane giffing suck to ane mane cost 50s.[43]
Item two standing pickters of my tuo daughters
Item tuo hy cheiris, ane low cheir, ane low stuill and ane fuit stuill all of grein and whyt tuffet taffetie.
Item ane couch bed of the same tuffit taffetie with and green bais cover to it and ane canabie to it with ane cover of the same grein bais.
Item ane head peis to it of the same tuffit taffetie, Item a valance to it of the same tuffit taffetie, Item ane long cussione of the same tuffit taffetie with ane grein cover of bais, Item two courteines of grein and whyt damask and breids in elk courtein with ten grein and whyt fetheris set in the silver cnabis
Item the curteines of the couche bed hes courteines with out thane of grein bais
Item ane skrein pentit grein and whyt with ane grein bais cover to it
Item ane skrein cloith of the same grein and whyt tuffit taffetie
Item ane walnuttrie table
Item there was nyne windows cloith of the same grein and whyt tuffit taffetie taken out of Dunglas whereof there was fyve of thame cut to make ane table cloith to the same grein rowme and there rests yet in [?massrieis] hands four of theas window cloiths.

[43] The *Roman Charity*.

Item four stulls of the samyn tuffeit taffetie and grein basis coveris to thame

[fol. 32v] Item tuo gryt geildit frames to stand be the wall to hold glass one

Item v littill pictors maid of cardis

Item the grein wyoll glass

Item ane blue wyoll glas

Item thrie plaine whyt glass

Item ane glas chalmer pot

Item ane grein glas pottinger

Item ane litill chena glas

Item ane loe whyt glas

Item ane glas lampe

Item ane glas half whyt half grene

Item ane whyt glas maid lyk ane womane

Item ane rothe whyt glas

Item ane glas like agate

Item ane littill bassein of mother of pearle

Item ane gryt black glas cut corner way

Item 3 standing picktors tuo of my lady downes chylerein and ane of the drarff meg candie

[addition] Delyvered to Dorothie Spense the twentie one of march 1646

Ane black ebenie cabbenit done with silver within standing on ane black frame

More delyvered to her the king and queens pictures

More the old dutches of Richmonds picture.[44]

More my brothers picture.[45]

More M[r] Hendersons picture.[46]

More the Duke of Richmond and his ladeis picturs

More My Lord Obenie and his ladeis pictures

More My Lord Northumberland and & My Lord Grandisons picture

Mor my ladie Andivor & My ladie Thimblebeis picturs.[47]

All these hes fine rich gilded frames

[44] Frances Howard, Duchess of Richmond (d.1639).

[45] James, 2nd Lord Home (d.1633), see also fol.5v.

[46] Mr Alexander Henderson.

[47] Lady Thimbelby and Viscountess Andover.

More Mistres Lemmons picture, almost twise the bignes of the rest with ane fine rich gilded frame lykwise.[48]
More ane little table and two standards all guilt
More two china flower potts standing upon the top of the chymney

[fol.33v] A note of the thingis in ye wardrope that is within the galrie of my lady Annis chalmer
Item nyne scheip maid in stone and ane sheipheid maid of stone
Item three new clois stullis wt clois stull panes to thame cost [blank]
Item tuo chalmer pots cost, xiiis-iiiid.
Item tuo steillis of lead wt brass panes and pewter heads[49]
Item ane old pair of tabillis
Item viii iyrne window bandeis
Item twelfe py pleits and ane pastrie pleat taken out of dunglas
With twelf disheis som little som meikle takin out dunglas
Item two old window brods
Item tuo litill glas dyellis and ane meikle losson
Item nyne old glass windoweis
Item aucht woddin boxes
Item ane wodin tirleis
Item ane gryt hampir and ane littill hamper
Item tuo close baskets for charcoill
Thre letheris for servitor trunks
Item ane Inglishe pewter point pot
Item ane hanging trivet
Item ane little preserving pane with a close bottome
Item ane irone to roast aples on
Item ane yrone to heat meat on.
Moir takin out of dunglas when the charge was giffen to Bridget in 1637 ane dussone of disches wharof four of thame fruit disheis

[48] Margaret Lemon, these portraits are part of a surviving set of copies after Van Dyck.

[49] Metal stills.

Moir brought to Edr out of Dunglas and Fluris twentie four sasseris and now yr is no more in Edr compt [Lady Home's hand: but them that is in the cichen comt]

[fol. 34r] Item upoun the 19 of May 1638 chengit in London and bought for the pewther that is come out of Edr Dunglas & Fluris that is taken of all thair compts that is hous keiperis for thrietie new dishes meik & littell with armes, seven py pleats and one paistrie pleat tuo flagons with armes four candilsticks with armes and ane old sasser that was changeit.
All theis pewther is left with Bess Menzeis in London except two candillsticks.

[fol. 36r.] A note of the thingis in the gardine in Edr
Item 3 stone lyons
Item 2 stone rolleris with ane frame
Item two wodin rolleris
Item 2 dragons
Item a gryt whyt pot geildit
Item 2 blew pots
Item 2 read pottis
Item 2 blak pottis
Item 2 yellow pottis
Item the uper gardein tuo seats
Item ane marbill table in the summer hous
Item in the lo gardein ane seat
Item of scheris – 2 scheris
Item of speads – 2 speids
Item ane [?r-]spindell & lyne
Item ane pair of scheris for cutting the cnots
Item ane wattering pot
Item ane raik
[additions] Item bought the first of februari 1638 a stone roulloure 2s which was mestir Nettanniele Adderis
Item ane copper wattering pot cost $15^{s}0^{d}$.[50]
Item 3 leaden pots geildit tuo cost £2 and one £1-15^{s}

[50] These are prices in Scottish money.

Item 3 cheris pentit grein & ane stull

[fol. 36v] Item vi earthen potts cost 4^{d} a piece is $2^{s}0^{d}$

More maid in Edr in February 1639, 3 cheris and ane stull pentit grien cost the grytest 13s-4d the other 2 vj^{s}-9^{d} a peis and the stull $2^{s}6^{d}$

[added] Mor of thingis bought in James Cudbertsones time

It ane new sythe

It tuo houckes

It ane pair of sheires

It ane spead

It tuo wheell barrowes on cost $3^{s}8^{d}$ the other 5^{s} yron works all

It ane hand barrow cost 4^{s} sterling

It ane lyn without a riell cost iv^{d}.

It a tub cost 2s-6d.

It a beatter, is.

It a wattering pott of whit iron cost 5-6 acheson

It a wooden shoal with an iron mouth i-0

Delyvered to Dorathee Spense the yeare of god 1646

Imprimis sixe guilded leade flower potts of one bignes, and seven others something lesse to stand with them

More seven little leade flower potts all guilt

Item ane litle brass figure of ane boy ryding upon a Dolphin

Item ane copper wattering pan

[fol.37r.] The 21 of Aprill 1642 after the things was all given to Dorly, and that [we] had been at the Flowers, and looked over all the Flowers things, there can be nothing found of all the six removing beds, but only tuo old covered matts and tuo feather bolsters.

[fol.38r] Ane note of things that came out of the Floores delyvered to Dorathee Spense the 15 March 1646

Inprimis ten feather beds

Item sixe bolsters

Item nine pillows

Item seven paire of blankets

Item six coverings
Item two ruggs
Item two quilts for a coutch bed.
Item a greine cannopie and two courtaines
Item two piece of greine cloath courtaines with vallance
Item seven piece of blew hingings
Item three greine cloath curtains and valance
Item three pieces of valance of whyte damaske, ane head piece and covers to two ~~stooles~~stoups
Item a roofe and four courtaines of tammyne
Item six courtaines with valance of net worke
Item thrie taffetie courtaines, a head piece & a piece of valance
Item four greine courtaines and valance, roofe piece, headpiece and paund
Item four Turkie cusheons
Item fyve cheares
Item two greine stooles and a rid stoole
Item thrie fire shovels and thrie paire of tongs
A marble pestle and mortar
Item ane greine boordcloath
Two preserving pans without branders
A warming pan
A skillet with travets
Item eight piece of vallance
Item three chamber potts, three close stool pans.
Item ane fusten matte
Item a wand cheare
[fol. 38v] Item two guilded baskets that come out of Dunibirsell

[fol.39r-40v.] A not of the Plat sould at London 13 Sept 1643
Item A great candlestick weiying all together 7^{xx}-9 ounces & a half and 2^{d} weight,
Mor twelf disches weighing alltogether five hundred fiftie five unce weight,
Both ar 700^{pd} and 4 ounces a half and 2d weight
w^{ch} amounts to 173^{lib}-4^{s}-3^{d}
Item tuelf freuit dishes weighing – xi scor 19 ounces

Item A tankard A wax Candl potand A Casting Bottell weighing fourtie three ounces & 2d weight
200 and 2 ounces and 2d weight
68^{lib}-3^{s}-6^{d}
Some of both is 241^{lib}-7^{s}-xi^{d}

The weyght of the Plat sould to M^{r} Vynour
The great stoupes and two andyrons weighing tuo hundred 39 ounces and 3 g[?]
The kettil and great salt the fyr showell and tangis bot the ladill is not changed that weighs 248 and a half
Sum of all this plat he gat four hundred fourscor eight ounces and a quarter w^{ch} at 4^{s}-10^{d} ha: ane ounce extends to 119^{lib}-0-0
Summa of Both for all the Plat 360^{lib}-7^{s}-xi^{d} bot the od [?erased] 7s-xid wes not resaved and $5^{s}2^{d}$ wes bailed to Mr Wynours man
[etc., continues on f.40]

[fol.41r.] A copie of Mistris Reeds nott the 18 of august 1637
Ane nott of maid of the holl pleat that mistris reed had in her hands [added, by Lady Home: at the makein of that note]
[numbered items of silver include]
12: It tuo pottes of my lady richmonds ffashion with louse covers – ii
[note] One of these potes of my la: richmonds fashion is changed for the silver brouke & the lion hande candellstickes.[51]
[fol.42r.] 23 of January 1643
Changet the two great pottes for these parcells pleat following
It two dishes weighing 61 ounces p a quarter, at 5s-9d an ounce cost £16-6s-8d
Item a great hanging candlestick weighing 150 ounces, at 5s-9d cost £40
Item catell and ladl weighing 116 ounces lak a quarter at 5s-4d cost £30-18s-8d
Item ane salt weighing 57 ounces a half & a quarter at 5s-9d cost £13-12s-8d

[fol. 42v.] Ane note of the rid and yellow damaske furniture delyvered to Dorathee the twentie of March 1646

[51] The pot was made into two candle arms to match those belonging to Marie di Medici.

Inprimis two carpets for tables of rid and yellow damaske, one them is two yairds and ane quarter long, and the other just two yairds long, and a yaird and a quarter broade the piece, they are fringed with crimsone & golde fringe and lined with rid searge.
Item three cusheons of the same rid and yellow damaske of one side and rid taffetie on the other
Item two window courtaines of frid and tallow taffetie of two yairds and halfe a quarter long the piece.
Item ane skreene cloath of rid and yellow damaske sutable to the carpets of two yairds and three quarters long and one yairde broade
Item two window cloaths of the same rid and yellow damaske, one of them three yairds long and three quarters broade, & the other is ane yaird and a quarter long with the same breadth. Both the skreene cloath and these two is done with silver & gold fringe
Item the vallance of the rid and yellow bed is one strip of freise cloath of golde, and another stripe of rid & yellow satine imbroidered, it is five yairds and a halfe long & hath a deipe kal fringe of golde about it, it is three quarters broade
Item the roofe peice is lykwise one strip of freise cloath of golde & the other rid and yellow satine imbroidered, it is a yairde and ane halfe long, and a yarde and a quarter broade
Item two covers for the posts of the bed sutable to them
Item one piece of crimsone satine laid with golde lace of two yairds long and halfe ane yairde broade
Item a square thing like a cover of something of crimson satine of both sids laced with golde lace and a crimsone and gold fringe about it
Item two pieces shaped just like them of olde rid satine lined with greine say
Item ane quilt of rid and yellow taffatie to the same bed of three yairds and three quarters long and three yairds broade
Item ane great heigh cheare with armes, one low cheare without armes, two heigh stooles, one low stoole, and a foot stoole, all of rid and yellow damaske sutable to this furniture

[fol. 43r.] Ane note of fine damaske& dornicke delyvered to Dorathee 16 March 1646.[52]
Inprimis ane paire of verie fine Holland sheits of three breadths and eight yairds and ane quarter long with a paire of pillowbers to them all marked with crimson silke.

[52] Mary, Lady Home did not originally list linen in her inventories.

Item another paire of verie fine Holland sheits of three breadths and eight yairds long with a paire of pillowbers to them all marked with blacke silke
Item another paire of fine Holland sheits of the same length and breadth with a paire of pillowbers to them marked with silke
Item ane paire of verie fine Scotts cloath sheits and ane paire of Holland pillowbers to them
Item fyvedyaper cupboard cloaths two yairds and three quarters long a piece, marked with rid silke.
Item ~~two~~ one long table cloath of verie fine dyaper of seven yairds long marked with blew silke
Item a long boorde cloath of some courser dyaper of nine yairds long marked with rid silke
Item ane dison and eight dyaper napkins marked with blew silke
Item ane boorde cloath of the same ~~darnick~~ dyaper of eight yairds & ane halfe long marked with blew silk
Item two disson and seven fine dyaper napkins all marked with black silke
Item ane fine damaske cupboord cloath of three yairds long x ‘x the piece’marked with blacke silke
Item two table cloaths of fine damask of four yairds long markid with blew silke
Item two fine damaske boordcloaths of three yairds and ane quarter long the piece marked withblacke silke
[fol. 43v.] Item ane damaske boordcloath a litle courser of two yairds and ane halfe long marked with red silke.
Item one towel of the same damaske of three yairds and ane halfe long marked with the same silke
Item nyne verie fine damaske napkins marked with blew silk
Item one disson and seven fine damaske napkins
Item two fine damask cupboorde cloaths of one yairde and a half long the piece marked with ane M, of whyt thread
Item two Holland stoole cloaths
Item three fine scotts cloath stoole cloaths marked with grein silk
Item ane single sheite of verie fine Holland of three breadths and three yairds and three quarters long
Item ane odde pillowber of fine Holland
Item [blank]

[fol. 44v.] Ane note of courser damaske delyvered to Dorathie Spense the 16 March 1646Item a long boorde cloth of some courser dyaper of nine yairds long marked with red silke
[etc.]
[fol. 45r.] Ane note of fine Dunfermline dornicke delyvered to Dorathee Spense the seventh Aprile 1646, that came out of Dunibirsell[etc.]

[fol.46r] Ane note of the whole black furniture wrought in slips delyvered to Dorathee Spense the seventeenth of March 1646.[53]
Imprimis twentie one breadths of holland hingings wrought in slips with blacke wosted, everie one two yairds and ane halfe deipe
Item two peices of vallance to put a top of the hingings of the same holland wrought in slips with black wosted of halfe ane breadth broade, and seven yairds and three quarters long the piece
Item ane holland sheit of three breadths sowed in slips with black silk and three yairds long
Item fyve courtains two of one breadth the piece, other two of ane breadth and ane halfe the peice, and the foote courtains of two breadths, they are all two yairds long the peice.
Item ane roofe peice of the same holland of ane breadth and ane half broad and of ane yairde and a halfe long
Item ane head piece of the same of ane breadth and ane halfe broade and of ane yairde and ane halfe long
Item ane utter vallance of seven yairds long both fringed with black and whyte kal fringe and narrow blacke and whyte fringe at the top
Item four pillowbers of the same holland wrought in slips with black silk
Item two long covers for the posts of the bed of two yairds long the peice
Item two short covers for the posts of the bed of three quarters long the peice
Item ane cover for ane great cheare with armes, and four lesser cheares having blacke and whyte kal fringes
The whole furniture both of the bed and chaires and stooles is all of holland wrought in slips with blacke silke

[fol. 46v.] Item delyvered to Dorothee Spense the eighteenth of March 1645

[53] This black and white bedchamber may have been a Harington heirloom, see fol.30r.

Ane blew and rid east india satine quilt lyned with sea greene sarsnet to lay upon the top of ane bed [margin: this saittin cult taken to Donibristle]
More delyvered to her the same day two extraordinarie fine great feather beds and two bolsters to them and two downe pillows to one of the beds
[margin: one of the feather beds and bolster was brought to Donibristle and the two down pillows]
More delivered to her one great fine Holland quilt
More one paire of fine Spanish blankets with Letters
It is to be remembred that both the beds & bolsters are caced with linnen
More delyvered to her the twentie of march fourteine pieces of imagerie hingings
More delyvered to her the same day on odde peice of forrest worke hingings
All these hingings did belong to Twitnam[54]

More delyvered to her ane fine great persia carpet of seven yairds long
More delyvered to her the same day fyteine lairge turkie carpets
More delyvered to her the same day eleven litle little foote turkie carpets
~~More delivered to her the same day one large turkie carpet with ane whyte ground and thre little ones~~
All these carpets lykways did belong to Twitnam
More delivered to her the same day three litle turkie carpets with whyt grounds
More delivered to her the same day a frame of a coutch painted blew and guilded
More delivered to her the same day a cace for the blew & guilded coutch of blew and whyte tuft taffatie imbroidered with gold and silver and set thicke with golde & silver ose
More delivered to her the twentie one day of March two litle tannie wrought velvet cusheons
More delivered to hir two long tannie wrought velvet cushions, more delyverit to hir tuo longe tannie wrought velvet cussiones
More delivered to her one great low cheare with arms of rid damask and greene fringe about it, and two low stooles sutable to it with rid cotton cases to them all three
More delivered to her two heich stooles and ane low stoole of rid velvet, and ane long cushion of rid velvet, with rid cottan caces to everie one of them.
More ane long cushion of rid and whyte flowered satine of the one side and yellow and whyte of the other, with arid cottan cace. [margin: this cussion taken to Donibristle]

[54] 'Imagerie' and 'forrest worke'– figuarative and verdure tapestry.

More two low chears and one low stoole of greine cloath with greene lace and fringe and greene cotton caces to them
[margin: thesis cheirs and stullis belongit to Doctor Seaton and he has gottin thame]
More one low stoole of griene plush with grine fringe and ane greine cotton cace to it
More two great wenscott cupboards

[fol.47r.] Ane not of thingis in the gairden
Item ane gryt geild pot cost xx^{s}.
Item two whyt potis cost xx^{s}.
Item two black pots two reid pots two blew pots two yallow pots cost v^{s} a pot.
Item twentie two pots to put within thame cost iiij^{d} a peis
Item tuo pattistollis of tyll stone cost 15^{s}
Item ane drawgone of the samyn mattell cost 12s
Item in the summer hous in the gairden ane reid spreckillit marbill tabill cost 53^{s}4^{d}.[55]
It Bought the 12 of November 1641 and delyvered to Robien Henryson a quheill barrow cost 3^{s}8^{d}
It for a hamer delivered to him 1s.

[fol. 47v.] Ane note of the silver velvet bed and furniture delyvered to Dorathee the twentie of March 1646
Imprimis fyve courtains the foote courtaine is two yairds and ane halfe broad, two of the side courtains is ane ell and ane halfe broade, and the other two ane ell & ane quarter broade the peice, and everie one of them two yairds deepe
Item the roofe peice is two yairds broade and two yairds long
Item the head peice is a yaird and three quarters long and a yaird and halfe ane quarter broade
Item the utter vallance is seven yairds long with a deepe silver kall fringe
Item the inner vallance is six yairds long and the fringe just like the other
[margin: all this silver velvet furnitor takin to dunibristle][56]
Item the counterpoint is three yairds and three quarters long and three yairds and ane quarter broade

[55] Spreckled red marble table for the summerhouse or banqueting house

[56] This bed was damaged by looters during the battle of Inverkeithing, see box 5 no.1202

The whole bed compleit is of one kinde of crimsoune and silver velvet, the courtains and vallance is lyned with rid and whyte sersnet, and the counterpoint with red base
Item two carpets for tables of two yairds and ane quarter long the peice and a yairde ane quarter broade, both done with silver kal frine, and lined with rid cairsie
Item ane skreene cloath two yairds and three quarters long and one yaird broade one of them is.
Item two window cloaths two yairds and three quarters long
All these lykwise of crimsoune and silver velvet, but of another flower
Item thee long cusheons and one short one of the same crimsone and silver velvet on the one side and rid & whyte damaske on the other, they have all rid base caces except one.
Item a plaine crimsone velvet mantle on the one side, laid with broade silver lace and crimsone and silver velvet on the other side
Item ane close stoole covered with crimsone silver velvet & a red cotton case to it
Item ane great heigh cheare with arms, two heigh stooles, one low cheare without arms, one low stoole, and one footstool all of crimson and silver velvet with rid cotton caces.
Item ane cover of rid baise to goe round about the bed
Item ane rid velvet cace with nyne knyns with heliotropus hefts
[fol.48r-v] Ane note of new whyt spottit stuff delyverit to Jeane Dascheill the 25 Maii 1632 [etc.]

[fol. 49r] Ane note of thingis in the new wardrope
Item yr is is in on creill of tyll stone of round compass sextein dussone and four.[57]
Item of the blew rois on dussone and aught
Item of the yallow rois on dussone and aught
Item of the pots four dussone seven
Item of the grapis thre dussane and thrie
Item of the spreikillit harth tylls that we laid in the hail chemnay on dussane ane sewin
Item of the Heringtone cnopis on dussone and nyne[58]
Item of ane wther sort ellevin tyll
Item of ane flur that is laid in my lady Annis chimney seven tyll
Item four tyll stones wt names

[57] tiles used in fireplace hearths

[58] Tiles decorated with the Harington heraldic knot.

32 dussone vi tyllis
Item tuo hy backit cheris of read leathir
Item ane gryt wiker cher and ane gryt wicker bascat thrie litl bascats
Item ane frame to the blak and whyt stuff that is delyverit to Bese Parkar & ane courting roid to goe round about it of iyrone
Item 4 gryt hamperis
Item ane baithing tub
Item 8 creillis that held the tyll stones
Item tuo coveris of prentadois for the tuo reid lether cheris
Item ane brod flat cheist that the picktors com hom in
Item ane long narrow cheist that the picktors com hom in
[fol. 49v.] Item nyne peis of hingings of the empriors.[59]
Bought at Lundone the yeir of god 1636 alymbike with a pote to it pryce 13^{s}
Item it is to be rememberit thare wants of the tyll stones that Massirie sayis was sent to Dunglas tua dussone and nyne tyllis But of what sort I knowe not so Jeane Dascheill is not to be chargeit with thame
Item ane littill pair of andyrones of iyrne
It bought a wodden chair & a stoull to Mr Jon Maitland, 2s-6d
Item the 26 May 1643 bought tyking [etc.,more bedding]
Item ane new fashioned pouther cisterne
Item two disson of pouther trenchers

[fol.51r] Ane not of the thingis in the galrie nixt my lady anns chalmer[60]
Item in a gryt trunk the grein furnitor that cam out of Dunglas gallerie[61]
Item nyne window clois of green and whyt tuffit taffetie and framit round about with grein and whyt silk and lynit with grein bucram
[blank space]
Item four hy stullis of the same grein ane whyt tuffit taffetie framit about wt grein and whyt silk

[59] Compare in Donibristle inventory, NRAS 217 box 5 no.1, fol.16v, bought in 1639, 'Item 4 peises of fyne tapestrie hingings of the storie of Julious Ceser & pompie contening on hundreth twentie six flemish elnes and eleven foot deip at 35s the yard is, 2^{c}-18^{li}-25^{s}'.

[60] For a pair of virginals in this passageway see fol.16v.

[61] This green furniture from Dunglass was set up in the garden balcony room, see fol.31.

Item ane hy cheir ane low cheir ane low stull and ane foot stull of the samyn grein and whyt tuffit taffitie freynit in the samyn maner
Item ane lange cussion of the samun tuffit taffetie the back syd of grein damas with'out' ane bage
Mair ane couche cheir of the samyn tuffit taffetie wt ane cannabie to it with ane long head peis to it of the samyn tuffit taffettie ane vallance to goe round about it frenzeit wt grein and whyt silk
Item tuo courteines of grein and whyt damaske fyve breids the peis
Item ten grein and whyt fetheris set in silver cnabis
Item ane skrein cloith of the samyn tuffit taffetie sewit about and lynit with bucram
Item a whyt calligo cult to lay upone ane bed steichit – xxj^{s}.
Item ane frame to the grein cotche bed wt courtingis rouf to it
Item on iyrne great to burne charcoal cost xxi^{s}
Item ane iyrne pane to put charcoall in cost xxii^{s}
[fol.51v] Item ane bras pane that standis on 3 hy feit cost xviii^{s}-0^{d} to burne charcoall in.

[fol.52r] A note of the thingis in Bessis garet
Item ane lang firre tabill
Item ane littill wanscoit tabill that is fir eating of oysteris
Item ane under mate ~~that is in the Fluris compt~~
Item ane lynit wowein covering
Item ane fedder bouster ane pair of blankets
[additions]
Item bought to Megie Candeis[62] bed ane new bouster and ane lynit covering and ane pare of plaiding blankets
Item upoune the 15 of October 1637 bought ane firre table to Smith clois one for nane ogill, it cost 3^{s}-4d
Item delyvered to Dorathee the eighteenth of March 1646 to set in the garret ane firre cupboorde and ane wenscot napkine presse to stand upon the tope of it.

[fol.53r] Ane note of the thingis that is in the gentill menes dyning rowme
Item ane wanscoit tabill that drawes at wane end that was taken out of Dunglas

[62] Meg Candie was a dwarf servant, her standing picture, see fol.31r.

Item ane wanscoit cupbuird that hes ane folding bed in it
Item tuo long forms

Item in the letter mete hall
Item ane gryt wanscoit drawing tabill that drawis at both ends
Item ane copbuird of wainscot and the tope of it firre.

[fol. 54r.] A note of the thingis in Adame Youngis chalmer
Item ane sewit covering lynit upoune adame youngs bed
~~Item upon James Menzeis bed~~
Item tuo standing beds
Item in Adame Youngis bed ane fedder bed and ane bouster ane pair of sprangeit blankets quiche bedding of clois standis in the comt of the Fluris for the frenche manes bed
Mor ane stray mate.
Item in James Menzeis bed ane seweit coveringe that was taken from marie out of Dunglas
Item ane fedder bed ane bouster ane pair of blankets of plaiding and ane stray mate all this takin from marie
Item in Thome Homes chalmer ane standing bed

[fol.55r] Ane note of the thingis in Cristiforis chalmer
Item ane fedder bedand ane bouster
Item ane pair of blankets
Item ane lynit covering blak and whyt
Item ane littill bed steid that was my lords

[fol.56r] Ane not of thingis in the sealler in Edr
[pinned note] [etc.]This nott mistress Keith tooke when Jane Deshill was lyinge on her death bed
[fol.57r] Ane note of the thingis in the ye wasche houss in edinburgh 1631
Item ane gryt brass cattil
Item vi tubis
Item ane buckat
The tubis and buckats cost vis-vid
[addition] Item delivered to Dorathie Spense in May the yeare of god 1646 [etc.]

[fol. 58r-v] Ane note of the thingis in the [K]ithkeing and the ~~laidner~~ in edr 1631 yeiris [etc.]
[fol. 59r.] Ane note of the thingis that is in the laidner in Edr 1631 [etc.]
[fol.59v - 60r]
[first hand] The sum of all litel woollen blanketts in this booke is twenty paire, whereof Jan Deshill gives up at my lady Murrey last coming home, just before the army came into England that she lent her two paire of blankitts that was never gotten againe
[Lady Home] & this comt standes right at the declerre of the things to Doley
[first hand] and at that tyme given her, upon her accompt the two paire of blanketts that was in Dunglas compt that lyes upon my lady maitlands bed, and compted to her two paire of the former paire that lay upon lady mary's bed, ~~for an old paire that wes taken from her~~, which makes in all at the deliveringe of the compt to her, which is now in her hands twenty paire of blanketts and it is to be remembered that these fower paire was taken at that sam tyme of Donglas compt
[Lady Home] this was after the house was bloune up [1640] & at that time that Rede delevered her the thinges shee founde foure coverledes a wantinge & sent them in the note of wantes, & have given her foure of Donglas coverletes for them so as shee wantes of all the comt in this booke but two coverletes,
[first hand] The sum of all the beds in this booke is a leaven featherbeds and one flocke bed,
[Lady Home] & sence I have given her another gude coverlet ~~wch was layde on Abrames bed matt~~, so as now she wants but one, [fol. 60r] It more given her a grene roge of Donglas count so as now she wantes no coverlites

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